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## TABLE OF CONTENTS


"Poems of Two Friends," *by* Rudolf and Clara Kirk . . 33

The First Congressional Election in New Jersey *by* George P. Schmidt . . . . . 45

Side-Light on a New York Antifederalist Lawyer *by* Robert T. Thompson . . . . . 51

The Associated Friends . . . . . 55

Thou Queen of Rivers, Raritan! *by* Serenitas . . . . . 56

Notes from the Library . . . . . 60

*Phi Beta Kappa Literature in the Library*, by Oscar M. Voorhees, p. 60; Newspapers Acquired, by Fred E. Merwin, p. 61; Books by Lane Cooper, by Donald J. McGinn, p. 64.



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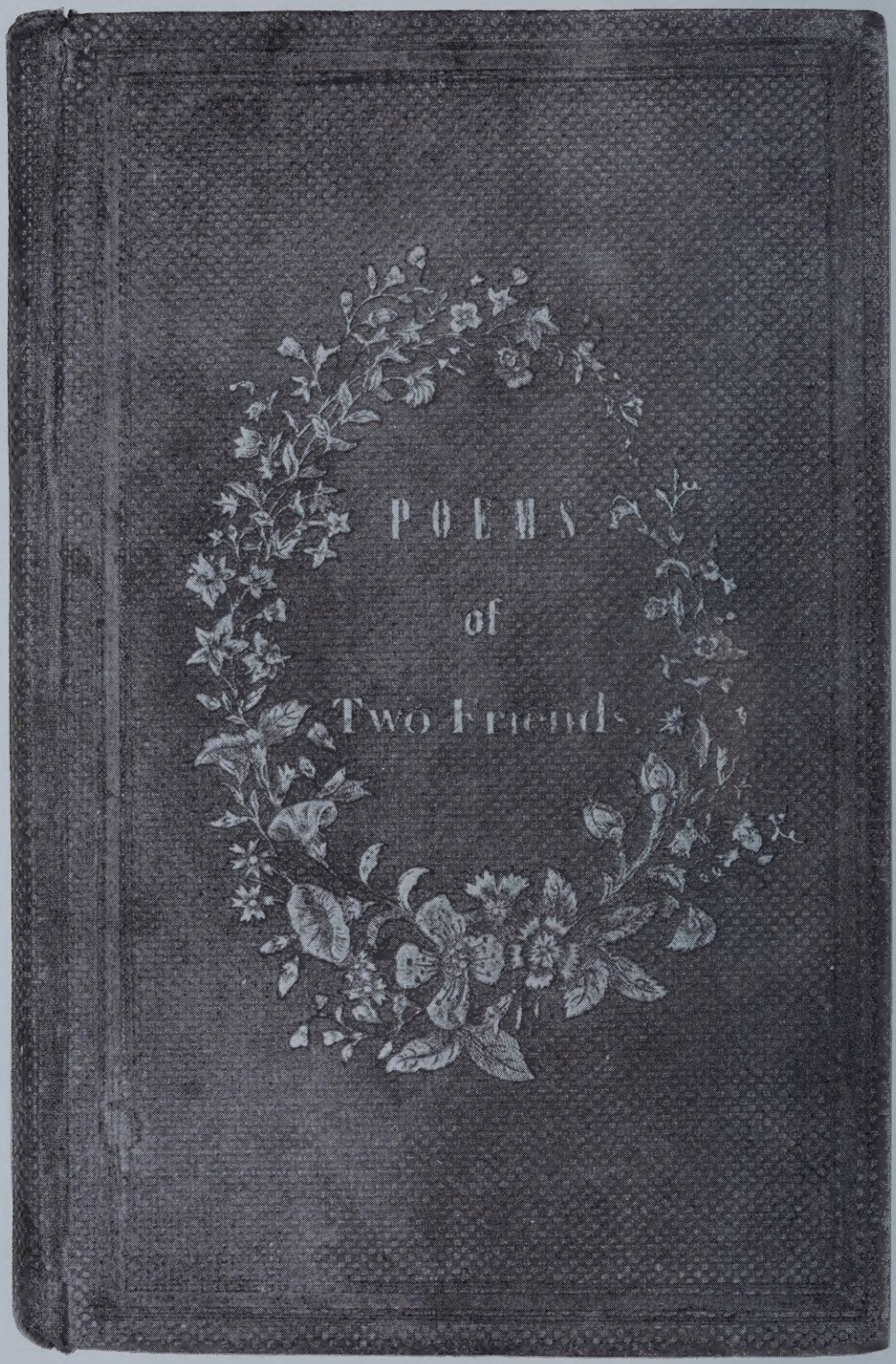
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# "POEMS OF TWO FRIENDS"

*By* RUDOLF *and* CLARA KIRK

*William Dean Howells, whose name is now generally associated with the beginnings of critical realism in American fiction, was, toward the end of the last century, something like a cleansing breeze in the stagnant atmosphere of decayed romanticism. The story here told, however, of the genesis of his first published work, a rare little volume of poetry which has been acquired by the Rutgers Library, reveals something of his romantic youth. The two letters by Howells are printed for the first time with the kind permission of Miss Mildred Howells.*

ON JANUARY 1, 1860, John James Piatt, a young Ohio journalist, gave to his grandmother a little volume entitled *Poems of Two Friends*, of which he was co-author with another young man named William Dean Howells. Neither youth was known to fame at that time, and both were rather self-conscious over the great venture of publishing a book of verse. In the three-sentence "Preface," written by Howells, their state of mind is revealed: "It may be that the Tenderness which cannot leave these poor Children of the Heart to generous Oblivion, is not wise. There is the Doubt." They then appeal to the public: "Gracious Reader! (approached with the reverent Affection due to the Reader of a first Book), solve us the Doubt." Thus a small book of verse, printed on tinted paper and charmingly bound, went out into the literary world with the intention of testing whether or not its authors were true poets. Bearing the copyright date 1859 and the imprint 1860, the little book was printed by Follett, Foster and Company, of Columbus, Ohio, before Christmas, 1859, and sold for fifty cents. Today copies are rarities which bring fairly high

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prices, when they come on the market at all. The Rutgers University Library was fortunate enough recently to acquire the very copy that Piatt "Affectionately" presented to "Grandma" eighty-one years ago.

This presentation copy has particular interest in that forty-odd years after it was printed it was inscribed by both authors. A letter written by Piatt, December 22, 1903, to a James Carleton Young, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, is slipped into an envelope which is pasted in the front of the book. From it we learn that Young had bought the volume from Piatt—who no doubt had reclaimed it after the death of his grandmother—with a special inscription added by Piatt from his home in North Bend, Ohio, December 4, 1903. On the blank page opposite Piatt's first poem, with which the book begins, Piatt—now a man of almost seventy—wrote eight lines from his youthful poem, "The Church Path":

> Vanished years: and every one
> Walked with me in shade and sun,
> Under clouds, through rainbows bright,
> Nights made day, and days made night.
> Joys that leafed my heart with May
> Rustle round my lonely way;—
> Fallen leaves my footsteps start:
> Their bright trees grew in my heart.

Then follow Piatt's signature and the dates "1859–1903"; finally, the line from Horace, "Eheu! . . . labuntur anni."

Piatt said in his letter to Young, "I fancy Mr. Howells would gladly write in the . . . volume if you should think it worth while to send it to him," and he added, "But the inserts of verses and letter in his autograph may render this unnecessary." Though the "inserts of verses and letter" did not come with the book to the Rutgers Library, Young did follow Piatt's suggestion, and more than a year later persuaded Howells also to inscribe the volume. Undoubtedly it was at this time that Howells wrote "W. D. H." after the Preface, and thus acknowledged himself the author. On the half-title before his section of the book, Howells wrote for Young two lines from one of the poems in this book, the "Prelude"—lines which are significantly characteristic of the agnosticism which he still felt as an aging man:

I sing in March brief
blue bird lays
And hope a May, and
do not know.

Howells' inscription is signed "W. D. Howells," and is dated "Columbus, Ohio, 1860. Kittery Point, Me., 1905."

In order to understand the story behind this little brown volume, prettily adorned with a wreath of gilt flowers, we must go back to the earliest references to the life-long friendship between Piatt and Howells, set down by Howells in his reminiscences. As fellow-apprentices in the printing room of the *Ohio State Journal*—the same paper on which they were later to work together as young reporters—they set type, and indulged in "boyish escapades in the long leisure of the spring afternoons of 1850," never suspecting their common interest in poetry.[1] Many years later Howells recalled a "tremendous combat with wet sponges" which he saw in the printing office once, between Piatt and another apprentice. "I admired his vigor as a combatant," remarked Howells, "but I never spoke to him at that time, and I never dreamed that he, too, was effervescing with verse, probably as fiercely as myself."[2] Howells soon came to know Piatt, and joined in the "romps and scuffles," and in *Years of My Youth* he again lingers over those printing-room scenes:

> I can see Piatt now, his blue eyes laughing to tears in our romps and scuffles, and I can hear the trickling mirth of his reluctant chuckle, distinct across the days of the years that have brought us so far. He was setting up House Bills and Senate Bills too, with whatever subjective effect, in the intervals of our frolic, but his head must have been involved in the sunny mists that wrapt mine round.[3]

We hear nothing more of the friendship of the two apprentices until 1859, when the idea of publishing a book together is first suggested. Piatt's reference to the undertaking, written inside the flyleaf of the Rutgers copy of *Poems of Two Friends* as part of the inscription for Young, gives us a brief account of the whole affair.

> I was living at Louisville, Ky in Summer of 1859—in correspondence with W. D. H. then an Editor of the Ohio *State Journal* at Columbus, Ohio,

[1] William Dean Howells, *Years of My Youth*, 1916, p. 79.
[2] *My Literary Passions*, 1891, p. 45.
[3] *Years of My Youth*, p. 79.

—when a proposal was made by the publishers to issue a Volume of my verse. This was communicated to me through Mr. Howells, and I afterwards suggested that it should be a joint volume. The result was this volume, published just before Christmas 1859.

J. J. P.

North Bend, Ohio
Dec$^{r}$, 4, 1903.

Piatt had accepted for that summer a temporary position as secretary to George D. Prentice of the Louisville *Journal*, a paper to which he had contributed many poems. He and Howells evidently exchanged a number of letters at that time, for in the letter to Young referred to above, Piatt remarked that he had just then, in December of 1903, opened a box of papers closed for twenty years, and in it he had found a pile of letters written to him by Howells in 1859.

Two of these letters, hitherto unpublished, recently came into the possession of the Rutgers Library. Tucked away in the fifth paragraph of Howells' account of his latest poetic enthusiasms is probably the first hint Howells throws out that he and Piatt might collaborate on a book—not of poetry but of "prose sketches"—that they "might sleep together under the same cover."

Columbus, Sept. 19, 1859.

My dear Piatt—

Excuse the shabbiness of this paper and the conveniency of pencil. You know—and if you don't, it is time you learned—that I am lazy.

I have a new sensation. I have Uhland—der süsste [*sic*] der deutschen Dichtern [*sic*].

I am boring every body to death about him, and I must mention him to you. I was afraid, when I had finished Heine, that "now the wine of life is drawn," but I was mistaken. Uhland pleases me quite as well—perhaps better. He is purer, and dreamier. You of course have read him Longfellowed; but the honey of his poetry has not the genuine taste, even when strained through the silver net of *our* poet's thought.—I really don't know what I shall do! If I go on admiring Uhland at this rate, and swelling with unexpressed sentiments, I am afraid I shall *burst*.

Here is something, I wrote the other evening. It is not for publication, but for you to laugh at, if you find it sufficiently unjust—:

The Poet's Friends.

The Robin sings in the elm—
The Cattle stand beneath,

Sedate and grave, with great brown eyes,
And fragrant meadow-breath.

They listen to the flattered bird,—
The wise looking, stupid things!
And they never understand a word
Of all the Robin sings![4]

What do you think?, "Strictly private and confidential."

I think you are right about Coates Kinney; there is but *one* poet in the west, and the first letter of his name is Piatt.—While I am on the subject of *you*—I had a talk with Foster the other day. I am going to get him up a holyday book—Selections from Percy's Reliques, with an essay on ballad poetry. He will print the book in beautiful style—green and gold—and will issue your poems uniform with it, if you feel like publishing. I think it would pay you.—You are known and popular throughout the west. You have friends at Cincinnati, Louisville, and Columbus—and I would spread myself on a review of you for the "Saturday Press." (They published some notices of Aldrich I made,—the first thing under their editorial head.) Or you and I might make up a book of prose sketches and sleep together under the same covers.

Write about it.

The note I got from the *Atlantic* was printed, and signed "The Editors."

I suppose we shall all be put in Mr. Coggeshall's book. A prodigious man, with a fine faculty for feeding the public on sawdust.

Now I am ashamed to write you that your "Ada" was printed in our paper that contained Lincoln's speech and every copy was sold before I could send any to you. I will have it published in the weekly, and mail you copies. Thank you for remembering the *Journal.* Several persons have already spoken in compliment of "Ada". *Who* is it? *Any*one?

Yours ever
Will D. Howells

P.S. Where is she? *Any*where?

The portion of this letter which probably stirred Piatt more than the poem on robins and cattle was that in which Howells referred to his conversation with Foster, the publisher and printer of the *Ohio State Journal*, and casually threw out a feeler as to the book they might publish together. Undoubtedly Piatt did "write about it" to Howells, and himself proposed, as he tells us in his inscription to Young, that they should collaborate on a volume of verse. Evidently the poems were promptly assembled and given to the press, for in less than three weeks Howells wrote the following letter to Piatt, in which he referred to "Our Publisher!—Think, O dear Heaven!"

[4] This poem appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1860, p. 185.

I take it very kindly of you to damn our printers so effectually. If you have got any more indignation on hand at the same price, you may let me have the whole lot. For my part, I have become so used to having my best intentions stabbed to death, that I rather enjoy the slaughter. For you, however, I am sorry. What would you? Our forman passes my expostulations by as the idle wind, which he regards not.

I suppose you do not see my occasionalities in the Saturday Press? I do not observe a diseased eagerness in the part of editors to copy them. Ah, me!

The John Smith of your affectionate inquiry is a spectacled person, who abides chiefly in the State Library, and as a contributor, has the gift of continuance in a remarkable degree. Was there really anything in "Lines of Life"? I gave it an editorial, not a poetical perusal.

I have commenced to take lessons in German composition, of a professor who diets on onions and beer, and smells accordingly.[6]

It is really no dream that you are to publish, for I had a waking conversation with your publisher about you this morning. (Our Publisher! Think, O dear Heaven!) Can't you see me before three weeks? My "suffering is intolerable."

Have you ever read a translation of Uhland's "Love of the Singers"? Beautifully sad it is.—Heine's old mother is dead at Hamburgh. Do you remember—

"Denk ich an Deutschland in der Nacht?"

Your budget of poetry came safely to hand, and was eagerly read. Wouldn't it be a good plan for you to print something at the east?—say in the N. Y. Post, the National Era, and Boston Courier, the Century, etc. When "the book comes out" the editors would be sure to mention you as a contributor.

There is nothing more for me to write except that I am.

Ever yours
Will. D. Howells.

These two letters make it evident that Howells was the moving spirit in their publishing venture. His generous praise of Piatt's poetry, which he always insisted was superior to his own, must have been a real encouragement to the diffident young Piatt. In any case, after the exchange of these letters in 1859, Piatt returned to Columbus, where he and Howells, as two reporters on the *Ohio State Journal*, saw their book through the press. Though this was their first book, their poems had appeared in the *Saturday Press*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and in other periodicals. While writing their political reports for the *Ohio State Journal*, in order to pay for food and rent, they were eagerly looking forward to literary careers as poets.

[6] Compare the character of Lindau in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*.

"This was the winter," wrote Howells a generation later, "when my friend Piatt and I made our first literary venture together in those *Poems of Two Friends*, which hardly passed the circle of our amity; and it was altogether a time of high literary exaltation with me."[7] That this "high literary exaltation" was the source of some amusement to Howells' fellow editors one gathers from the following sentences:

> I walked the streets of the friendly little city by day and by night with my head so full of rhymes and poetic phrases that it seemed as if their buzzing might have been heard several yards away; and I do not yet see quite how I contrived to keep their music out of my newspaper paragraphs. Out of the newspaper I could not keep it, and from time to time I broke into verse in its columns, to the great amusement of the leading editor. . . . He wanted to print a burlesque review he wrote of the *Poems of Two Friends* in our paper, but I would not suffer it. I must allow that it was very funny. . . .[8]

Piatt and Howells were themselves so full of enthusiasm for their little book of poems that they packed up a large box of the flower-bedecked volumes and sent them to a New York publisher, to sell in his shop, and then promptly forgot that they had done so. In 1865, after Howells' return from his consulship in Venice, he found himself a stranger in New York and without a job. He made repeated calls at newspaper offices in search of work, but nobody seemed eager for the services of this young ex-consul. He had hardly a dollar left when it suddenly occurred to him while strolling on Broadway that he had never heard from the publisher on whom he and Piatt had bestowed the packing-box full of *Poems of Two Friends*. Thinking that he might now profit by the sale of his poems, he hastened to the bookseller, only to discover that he had never heard of the book, nor had he any recollection of ever having received a box from Columbus. Howells finally persuaded him to allow him to search the cellar with the help of one of the clerks, and the unopened box was found in the storage room.[9]

Soon after this low point in Howells' career, he became an editor of *The Nation*, and then of *The Atlantic Monthly*. Many years later as a successful man of letters, he was able to glance back at this poetic venture of his youth with ironic detachment. The little book, he tells us, "became instantly and lastingly unknown to fame; the West waited, as it always does, to hear

[7] *My Literary Passions*, p. 143. [8] *Ibid.*

[9] Lida R. McCabe, "One Never Can Tell," *Outlook*, May 14, 1898, pp. 131–2.

what the East should say; the East said nothing, and two-thirds of the small edition of five hundred came back upon the publisher's hands." He adds, "I imagine these copies were 'ground up' in the manner of worthless stock, for I saw a single example of the book quoted the other day in a book-seller's catalogue at ten dollars, and I infer that it is so rare as to be prized at least for its rarity."[10] So rare did the book become, indeed, that when Howells was asked many years later to deposit his complete works in the State Library of Ohio, he was unable to comply because he did not possess a copy of the *Two Friends*.[11]

Howells was not entirely correct, however, when he wrote that *Poems of Two Friends* at once became unknown, for it was promptly reviewed by the *Saturday Press*, the Cincinnati *Dial*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the New York *Evening Post*. Five or six of the lyrics assembled by Howells for this volume had previously appeared in the *Saturday Press*, a weekly journal of which Howells later wrote: "It is not too much to say that it was very nearly as well for one to be accepted by the *Press* as to be accepted by the *Atlantic*, and for the time there was no other literary comparison."[12] The reviewer for this periodical, probably the editor, Henry Clapp, Jr., was tremendously taken with Howells' share of the little book, though he did not care for that of Piatt. "Mr. Howells," he declared, "is a man of genius. We do him justice; we do not pay him a compliment. His genius is not, indeed, of the highest order; but it is genius, nevertheless." Warming to his subject, the reviewer concluded:

> We lay no claim to the gift of prophecy, having no particular interest in the future. But . . . we see no difficulty in the way of predicting for Mr. Howells what Shakespeare, or somebody, calls a "brilliant future." He is —in the memorable words of our British friend—"on the threshold of a splendid career." We can but wish him the marble halls of fame, and illustrious repose in palace chambers.[13]

Moncure D. Conway, writing in the March, 1860, number of the Cincinnati *Dial*, to which Howells contributed four poems later in that same year, saw in Howells' portion of this

[10] *My Literary Passions*, p. 45. Piatt, in his letter to Young referred to above, also mentions the fact that the current price of the volume at that time was $10. [11] McCabe, p. 132.
[12] *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*, N. Y., 1900, p. 70. [13] *New York Saturday Press*, Jan. 28, 1860.

book of verse a promise of better things and regretted "a certain fear of himself" which he discerned in the poems.

> Mr. Howells has intellect and culture, graced by an almost Heinesque familiarity with high things; and if it were not for a certain fear of himself, we should hope that this work was but a prelude to his sonata. As it is, we are not sure that it would not be well to take the anti-publication pledge for a year or so, the time to be devoted to amputation of all classics and models who incline him to prefer a luxurious sedan to honest limbs given by nature.

Though Howells had already dedicated himself to realism, it is not surprising that one so steeped in the poetry of the eighteenth century should have allowed some of its artificiality to attach itself to his youthful verses, but one is glad that Conway so promptly objected to the "classics and models" that sometimes marred very good poetry.

James Russell Lowell, in the *Atlantic* of April, 1860, praised the book. "The volume is a very agreeable one," he said, "with little of the crudeness so generally characteristic of first ventures,—not more than enough to augur richer maturity hereafter." Though not wishing to distinguish invidiously between the two authors, Lowell did believe "that Mr. Piatt shows greater originality in the choice of subjects, and Mr. Howells more instinctive felicity of phrase in the treatment of them." He was pleased with "a thorough Western flavor in some of the poems," and concluded:

> We welcome cordially a volume in which we recognize a fresh and authentic power, and expect confidently of the writers a yet higher achievement ere long.

The New York *Evening Post*, of November 7, 1860, reviewed the poetry of several young poets, under the title, "The Bardlings." Piatt saw the article, and wrote on November 15, to Howells, "Oh, did you see the article 'Bardlings' in the *Evening Post* a week ago. It damned us respectively—'with faint praise.' You have written one poem. I think that should take the 'ling' from your poet-hood: yes, several, and I'm a critic, 'by God' (to quote the Italian painters) as you'll have to admit."[14] As a matter of fact, the *Evening Post* dealt fairly enough with Piatt and Howells. "The 'two friends' write always intelligently, and sometimes with true poetic fervor," the

[14] Harvard Library MS Am. 800. 20. This letter is here quoted by the kind permission of Mr. Keyes D. Metcalf, Librarian of the Harvard College Library.

editor wrote, and he then quoted freely the occasional "felicitous expression or stanza" which he found in their poetry.[15]

In this same year, 1860, William T. Coggeshall edited *The Poets and Poetry of the West: with Biographical and Critical Notices*. This large volume was published in Columbus, and it was but natural that it should include brief sections on both Piatt and Howells, two of "the only four poets west of the Alleghanies," as Howells tells us in *Years of My Youth*, "who had yet been accepted by the Atlantic."[16] Coggeshall ended his biographical sketch of Howells by reproducing from the *Saturday Press* the encomium which has been already quoted in this article. He then reprinted two lyrics—"The Movers" and "Dead"—from *Poems of Two Friends* and four other poems which had appeared in the *Atlantic*. From Piatt's section of the book he reprinted five poems and two others from elsewhere.

Though *Poems of Two Friends* brought to the two youthful journalists mild acclaim from the reviewers of the time, it did not impress unduly their young literary friends of Columbus, Ohio. The volume itself "was so pretty," wrote Howells many years later, "that I am afraid some readers liked it for its looks; one young lady said that I at least could have no trouble choosing what Christmas presents I should make my friends." Howells endured the teasing of this young friend, "who easily bore the palm for beauty in Columbus" with proud reserve.

> I gave my book to no one, he wrote, in my haughty aversion from even the shadow of advertising, and most of my friends had their revenge, I suppose, in not buying it.[17]

In 1917 a few weeks after the death of his friend, Howells himself made perhaps the most discerning comment on Piatt's poetry to be found—and he offered at the same time a suggestion as to why his poetry was no longer read.

> . . . when he sang of the prairie fire and the old cabin and the pioneer chimney, he touched the hearts of those who remembered them from their early days, but not the fancy of the young who turned impatiently from them and were perhaps tired of hearing of them from their elders.
>
> The spirit of his poetry was the first voluntary expression of the Western life in the love of the Western earth and sky, and when most young Ameri-

[15] *The Evening Post*, New York, Nov. 7, 1860, p. 1, col. 1. [16] p. 162.
[17] *Years of My Youth*, p. 162.

can poets were trying to write Tennyson, Piatt was trying to write himself, and in spite of the ruling ideals, doing it.[18]

Certainly Piatt's most authentic poems are those which deal with "The Western Pioneer," "The Forgotten Well," "The Harvest Spring," rather than those in which he wistfully describes "The Yellow Leaf in the Poet's Book," or a "Sabbath Evening after a Shower." Though Piatt did not free himself from the tradition of Cowper and Tennyson, he nevertheless felt the romance of the pioneer.

> Into the prairies' boundless blossom,
> Into the Wide West's sunburnt bosom,
> The earliest emigrants came.

Howells, too, is moved by the pioneers whose mark was still to be traced on the Ohio countryside. Though he was too close to Longfellow to discover his own rhythm—

> Up the long hill-side the white-tented wagon moved slowly,
> Bearing the mother and children, while onward before them the father
> Trudged with his gun on his arm—

he does at least occasionally put into verse the scenes suggested by the country around him.

But most of the poems in this little collection show the "bardlings" chiefly concerned with their own moods. Howells made a confession, to which they could both subscribe:

> In my rhyme I fable anguish,
> Feigning that my love is dead,
> Playing at a game of sadness,
> Singing hope forever fled,—

For, as he pointed out,

> I must make believe at sorrow,
> Lest I perish, over-glad.

Perhaps Howells' appreciation of Piatt, written when he himself was an old man, sprang, as he said, from "a fondness —or call it a weakness—for a first volume called *Poems of Two Friends*, where he dared publicity with another boyish rhymer of his time and place." It is in this same reminiscent mood that the reader to-day thumbs through this brown and gilt volume of eighty-one years ago, and pieces together the story behind its publication.

[18] *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1917, p. 292. See also *My Literary Passions*, p. 46.

# THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION IN NEW JERSEY

*By* George P. Schmidt

EVERYONE even slightly familiar with New Jersey history knows that the state elected a Congressional delegation in 1789 which was friendly to the new Constitution; but the political cross-currents and the local issues which determined the outcome of this first election are not so well known. A letter recently acquired by the library from the correspondence of Joseph Bloomfield and Jonathan Dayton gives us a glimpse of what went on behind the scenes.[1] Written by Bloomfield on Feb. 28, 1789, while the election was in progress, it tells a story of intense personal conflicts and high pressure politics which proves that Jerseymen even at that early date had little to learn of the fine art of politics.

An intelligent reading of the letter, with its allusions to tickets, polls, and campaign methods, is possible only if one fully understands the election practices of the time. These were based on two fundamental laws. The first, passed in 1783,[2] laid down the rules for all state elections, and the second, in 1788,[3] was designed to fit the new federal elections into the existing framework. It was thus provided that the four members of the National House of Representatives to which New Jersey was entitled were to be elected on the second Wednesday in February from a statewide list of nominees. Any inhabitant, aged 21 and "worth Fifty Pounds Proclamation Money," might hand a signed ticket of four names to his county clerk, but no later than thirty days before the election. All the nominations were sent to the governor who was instructed to assemble and

[1] The letter is printed in full on pp. 48–50.

Joseph Bloomfield, 1753–1823, born in Woodbridge, later lived in Burlington. He was the first Republican governor of New Jersey, 1801–1812.

Jonathan Dayton, 1760–1824, of Elizabeth, though defeated in the first Congressional election, was elected four times after that, eventually serving as Speaker. Then he moved to the Senate, in 1799. He was a speculator in western lands and a friend of Aaron Burr.

[2] *Acts of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*. Ch. XI. Dec. 16, 1783.

[3] *Acts of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*. Ch. CCXLI. Nov. 21, 1788.

publish the total list in "The News-Papers printed in this State and in two or more printed in the cities of New York and Philadelphia," at least eighteen days before the election. The sheriffs were then to post this official list at five places in each county. In the matter of time and place of voting the law allowed much latitude. In some counties written ballots were required while in others *viva voce* voting was prescribed. While in general, elections were to be held at the place of quarter sessions, various exceptions were permitted; the Burlington poll, for example, might be shifted to Bordentown, and in Essex the election might be adjourned "to the house where Jeremiah Smith lives in Elizabeth-town." No closing hour was fixed, but election officers were empowered to close the polls whenever they thought all voters had had "a reasonable time" to appear. They could also adjourn the poll from day to day. Such wide powers were open to abuse as the Bloomfield letter clearly shows. To secure honest voting the law forbade bribery by "fee, reward, victuals, drink or entertainment."

In accordance with the rules thus established the first Congressional election got under way. The state legislature had already chosen the two senators and the six presidential electors[4] when Governor William Livingston announced the list of nominees.[5] There were fifty-three all told, of whom seven—Bloomfield being one—declined to serve. The voting, though it was to begin on the second Wednesday in February, was not completed for some time. Both our letter and contemporary newspaper items indicate that election judges in several counties took full advantage of their authority to shift and postpone, and it was not until March 19 that the governor was able to announce the final results.[6]

[4] On the first Wednesday in January. *Ibid.*

[5] The proclamation and the complete list are in the *New Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer* of Elizabethtown for Jan. 21, 1789.

[6] *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* carried an item indicating that the four junto candidates were leading in Burlington (Mar. 13). An Elizabeth dispatch in the same paper (Mar. 16) stated: "The poll of this county is adjourned until Wednesday the 18th inst. at Elizabeth-Town. It may safely be conjectured, that this measure is adopted in consequence of the manoeuvres of the five western counties in delaying their returns beyond the time prescribed by law in order to profit by a knowledge of the returns from the eight counties in the east." The same paper declared (Mar. 23) that the four junto candidates appeared to be elected, and announced (Mar. 30) the governor's official proclamation of the 19th to the same effect. Even then the returns from one county (probably Essex) were missing.

Looking at the election through Bloomfield's eyes, we see two organized slates of candidates. The first group, the junto ticket to whose campaign practices Bloomfield raised such strenuous objections, was made up of Elias Boudinot, Lambert Cadwallader, James Schureman (Rutgers, 1775), and Thomas Sinnickson.[7] Loosely linked in opposition to these four were Jonathan Dayton, the recipient of Bloomfield's letter, and his friend Abraham Clark.[8] A sentence near the end of the letter suggests that perhaps John Witherspoon, signer of the Declaration and president of the College of New Jersey, and Alexander McWhorter, patriotic pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Newark, were bracketed with Dayton and Clark.

To see in these two groups the birth of the Hamiltonian and the Jeffersonian party would be to take unwarranted liberties with the evidence. For all eight, and Bloomfield too, belonged to the landed class and to the business and professional groups, which had managed the affairs of the state since the Revolution. All, with the possible exception of Clark, were considered Federalists, i.e., supporters of the Constitution. It is true that Bloomfield slowly drifted into the Jeffersonian ranks and became the first Republican Governor of New Jersey, but this was not apparent in 1789. The divisions in this first election grew out of personal, geographic, and religious differences, and did not represent any definite party alignments. Presbyterians and Quakers were the two most numerous political bodies, and the strength of the junto faction was evidently in the Quaker-controlled counties of West Jersey, while the Dayton-Clark ticket had its principal support among the Presbyterians of the northeastern counties.

The junto appears in the letter as a close-knit, well-organized faction. They had secured the endorsement of the State As-

[7] James Schureman, 1756–1824, of New Brunswick, had served in the Revolution as had most of the other candidates. After several terms in Congress he became mayor of New Brunswick. Elias Boudinot, 1740–1821, of Elizabeth, well-known as a president of the Continental Congress, a strong supporter of Hamilton's financial measures in the House of Representatives, was later a director of the mint. Lambert Cadwallader, 1743–1823, of Trenton, served in the Revolution, the Continental Congress, and two terms in the House of Representatives. Thomas Sinnickson, 1744–1817, of Salem, a merchant, also served in the war and was later one of the Adams and Pinckney electors.

[8] Abraham Clark, 1726–1794, of Elizabeth, signer of the Declaration, was a farmer, opposed to lawyers, and the only one of the prominent candidates who was considered lukewarm toward the Constitution.

sembly; their ticket was printed (there was no official ballot in those days); they evidently controlled the election machinery, at any rate in the southwestern counties, if Bloomfield was correctly informed. To the politically lethargic Quakers they pictured the horrors of a nation in the hands of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who, allied with the New England radicals, would legalize paper money (apparently in the face of the prohibition in the new Constitution) and might even plunge the country into war again. Their representations were successful; in spite of the best efforts of Bloomfield and his friends, the entire junto ticket was swept into office. The first Congressmen from New Jersey were, accordingly, James Schureman, 12,537 votes, Lambert Cadwallader, 8,685, Elias Boudinot, 8,603, and Thomas Sinnickson, 8,203.[9] Dayton, high man on the Bloomfield ticket, just failed to nose out Sinnickson.

Burlington, Feb: 28th: 1789.
Late Saturday Evening.

Dear Sir,

In my letter of last Evening (wh I sent by Stage, under cover to Sam Smith) I give a State of the Burlington Poll & measures pursued to carry the junto-Ticket. I will mention the substance of that Letter.

Norcross, Hollinshead and myself went to the election at Moores-Town, on our way through Mount-Holly, we sollicited the company of Ross & Cox, and who followed on, but we could do little or nothing in that quarter, Rd. S. Smith, who keeps a Store in Moore[s]-Town & of great influence, having taken unweried pains to support the junto-Ticket & prejudice the People against M[r]. Clark & Yourself. There was a meeting of Col. Ellis, and two other leading characters from Gloucester at R. S. Smith's and the Burlington Gentry Danl. Ellis, Joshua M. Wallace, Danl. Newbold, &c: &c. in consequence of Cummings & Jona. Rheas visit on that day, into the Western Counties. Maj. Howell of Trenton was with them.

After this, we could get no intelligence of the number of votes taken. It was given out that the Poll probably would be closed at Burlington, when at same time there was a fixed determination to travel the second time to Kellum's (called cross-Keys in Evesham) and to the New-Mills. By what I can learn their Generalissimo Col. Ellis, prescribed 2500 at least, and if possible more, could they be obtained in Burlington—then returned with his chosen Friends to Haddonfield (only 8 miles off) where the Gloucester Election was then Polling to co-operate with the Burlington Election at Moores-Town. Thus their measures have been concerted to support their junto—favorite—Ticket, originally the Embryo of Col. Ellis and which He is determined shall be brought forth into Life. There was about 2295 votes

[9] *The Pennsylvania Packet* for Mar. 24 gives these figures.

in the Box when the Poll adjourned last Evening from Burlington to Kellum's Cross-Keys.

Soon as Austin arrived I had a meeting with Norcross & Hollinshead, both unwell with colds taken in their late return from Moore's-Town Thursday night—after consultation. I dispatched one of my Clerks to Woodbury and Hollinshead (though very unwell) set out for Mt. Holly to wait Ross's return from Kellum's (Cross-Keys). It is now after eleven at night. Hollinshead has returned, and says, Ross informed him that about 100 or 120 votes He supposed was taken, that the Clerks pretend they have not lately numbered the votes & therefore cannot take the trouble to count them. (The Clerks are Rd. R. Smith, cozen of Rd. S. Smith a son of John Lawrence & a son of D. Ellis) the inspectors all of the same Class, one of them Tom Hewlings, who returned but very lately from Nova Scotia.

Ross finding that the Tickets He give out, were generally changed by those who watched for this purpose, and no confidence to be placed in any man. He sent up for Volunteers among the Workmen of Taunton Iron-Works, and in Martial parrade led up 25 with the Proprietor Hastings and who voted immediately from Ross's hand, to the no small vexation & mortification of the Inspectors & Junto-solid-compact. But all this I fear has a tendency to rouse and excite our opponents to greater opposition and industry in turning out every one without exception—and indeed, the Blind, lame, sick & even decrepid old age, is not suffered to be at their desired ease, at home.

In order to induce the rigid Quaquers to turn out, who heretofore said "They did not feel a Freedom to vote" the advocates for the junto-ticket, have raised another Story, truly ridiculous indeed—Yet, serves the purpose for which it is propagated, among the uninformed weak part of this Society. "Come Friend, go to the Election and vote for the Ticket recommended by the Assembly, vote for the Federal-Ticket, the West-Jersey-Ticket, the Quaquers Ticket, recommended by Friends,—Come, turn out, oppose the Prysbeterian Ticket. The Prysbeterions want another War, they want another opportunity to distrain Your goods for pretended Militia-duty." The Peaceable Quaquer, says, "No, I don't feel a Freedom, Thee must excuse me, I never intend to interfere in Government-matters, it is against my Principles."

"You don't feel a Freedom, You will loose Your freedom, Your Liberty and Your Property, nay more, Your Religion, if You do not; we Church People see very clearly these Presbyters want to rule, and, then, there will be no other Religion suffered in this Country, but Presbyterianism, the most arbitrary and tyrannic of all Religions. But, Dayton & Clarke are bloody men, are men for War, they want another War, that they may make their fortunes by distress from the Quaquers, and, if they get into Congress, they will join with the New-England-Congress Men and we shall have War & Blood-shed immediately—the Gentlemen in our West-Jersey-Ticket, are good peaceable Men, they will oppose all War-measures. Congress will be brought to Phil[a], may be to Burlington and the Markets will then be good, we shall have no Paper Money. Clarke & Dayton was the means of

making the present Paper trash, they had it made to pay their Debts, particularly Clarke, I can shew You this in Print & Certified by Your Friends the Shottwells of Rhaway, who have been cheated by this Clarke. But War is their present scheme, particularly Dayton, who with his Father and all his Presbyterian Family of the Ogdons, have shed a great deal of Blood, they all thirst for Blood again, nay, Dayton & Clarke, after having War a while, will, if they can, hang all the Quaquers as they formerly did in New-England and as poor Carlile was during the late War in Phil$^{a}$ in 1778. Elias Boudinot, altho' then a Congress-Man, Pleaded for Carlile and wanted to save his Life, but Presbyterian Joe Reed, then Governor had him hanged because He was a Quaquer, and pardoned all the Presbyterians, who were condemned to be hanged also, for the same charge as against Your Friend Carlile, who was a member of Your meeting & often visited at Burlington at Your quarterly meetings. Lambert Cadwalladers Brother wrote a piece against Joe Reed for this conduct, now Your Friends Elias Boudinot & Lambert Cadwallader are in this Ticket, and also, James Schureman, who last Fall got the Law passed to free the Poor Negroes, who have all voted for him, as to Sinnickson the last name in this printed Ticket, You know He lives in Salem & that all his Family connections are Friends, these are the honest, good men You ought to vote for. But, if You want War and to be persecuted by the Presbyterians, stay at home, & see who will pity You when Your goods are distrained and Your Meeting-Houses are made barracks as here to fore, for Soldiers & Men of War." Much more such stuff is dealt out to the poor Quaquer, particularly, that two Scotch Presbyterian Hirelings are joined in the Ticket of Clarke & Dayton, meaning Witherspoon & McWhorter. Upon this, the Wife, Mother, and all the Family, cry out "go, go, go to the Election and vote for the Printed-Ticket." &c. &c. The Poor Friend being alarmed at the situation of his Society, finds "Freedom" takes the Printed junto-Ticket, & away He goes, with such of his Neighbours as He can influence by telling them the same melancholy tale—to keep out the blood-thirsty Presbyterians and to prevent War, Blood & Slaughter.

In Continuation, Sunday ½ after Eleven A.M. 1: March 1789. My Clerk John White is this moment returned. Enclosed is Mr. Hunters Letter which contains no more than what I have already written to You. I suppose from the best information I can procure that there will be from 25, to 26,00 votes taken in Burlington.

My Clerk tells me that the Gloucester Election was held Yesterday at the Tavern near Pensaukin Bridge, within 200 Yards of this County & about 6 miles from Coopers Ferry a Place not mentioned in the Election-Laws & which I take to be illegal.

Let me hear from You by Post, send me Your last Eliz. Town Papers for a month back. Remember me to Mrs. Dayton & all Friends. In haste. Y$^{r}$ sincerely,

Joseph Bloomfield.

# SIDE-LIGHT ON A NEW YORK ANTIFEDERALIST LAWYER

*By* Robert T. Thompson

*Some years ago James Neilson, of the Class of 1866, deposited in the Rutgers Library a large collection of manuscript letters and business papers belonging to his family. Their value was not fully brought out, however, until Professor Robert T. Thompson, of the Department of History, made a study of them for his book,* Colonel James Neilson, A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784–1862, *recently published by the Rutgers University Press. The present article is an offshoot from the larger study.*

THE history of the bitter fight in New York State for and against ratification of the Federal Constitution has been the subject of numerous investigations. At this late date it is not likely that the general outlines of the story will be changed by the reexamination of old materials or by the discovery of new data. The accepted view holds that, broadly speaking, the Federalists included the wealthy men of business in and around New York City, land speculators, owners of manorial estates, and a very able group of lawyers headed by Alexander Hamilton. The Antifederalists, on the other hand, numbered in their ranks the yeoman farmers and the less prosperous townsfolk. In other words, the lines of cleavage between federal and antifederal opinion in New York, as elsewhere, were produced primarily by economic forces. Many students of American political history question the validity of this economic interpretation, unless large exceptions and qualifications are made, but it is not in order to summarize their criticisms here. The letters which follow illustrate the difficulties encountered when sweeping generalizations are made. Each of the writers owed considerable sums of money, one of them being in debtor's prison while he wrote. They also possessed property, both real and personal, and therefore might be classed as creditors. In their status as debtors they should have opposed the Constitution, if the formula of the economic interpreter is correct; but as owners of tangible property assets, they should be found among the supporters of the new framework of government. They were in fact staunch Federalists, but it is

doubtful whether they arrived at this conclusion by weighing their assets against their liabilities.

A further word of explanation is necessary to make clear the contents of the letters. John Neilson of New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Abraham Lott, former treasurer of the Colony of New York, were claimants to an estate of land, located south of Albany and known as Coeymans' Patent. Their title was not without flaws, one of the most serious being a dispute respecting the boundaries which dated back to the time of the original patentee, Barent Coeymans. In spite of this, they were able to sell thousands of acres after the Revolution to individuals and groups of associates from Connecticut and elsewhere, with the stipulation that the purchasers were to defend their titles. As was feared and probably expected, numerous ejectment suits were instituted when the purchasers tried to take possession, and this litigation was not settled until after the lapse of many years. The writer of the first letter which follows had bought a farm from Neilson and Lott in the disputed area and had united with them in employing Peter W. Yates of Albany to defend their joint claims. Proceedings were begun before the Federal Constitution became an issue, but, so it is alleged, they came to a standstill when the Antifederalist lawyer found that his clients were Federalists. The animosities engendered by the ratification fight remained very much alive after it was over, judging from the following letter written six months after the New York convention had approved the Constitution.[1]

Eleazer Knowles to John Neilson

New Bruns.
The Land of Deep Dystress
The Bordors of Dyspair
Jan. 29, 1789

"Upon our failyour in Geting a hearing at the Circut Cort fols rumers Spred and fols causes were asigned which raised the furies so that like mad

[1] For a detailed criticism of the Federal Constitution, signed by Peter W. Yates and other Antifederalists, see J. Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, IV, 336–343. Yates had been a leading patriot in the Revolution, and was one of the most prominent lawyers in Albany. It is interesting to note that Lott and Neilson had failed to secure the services of Alexander Hamilton and two other attorneys in New York City whom they consulted. All three professed to be too busy to go to Albany to try the land title cases. But their real reason for not accepting, so Lott charged, was to be found in his inability (and Neilson's) to pay them retainer fees of £30 to £50. William Paterson of New Jersey took a small part in the litigation as one of the attorneys employed by Neilson and Lott.

men they fell to Possesioning, to cuting and Slashing at our valluable timber &c and by apliing to Mr. Yates I found his jaws set and my Purs emty the tryall Gone over to all appearance till August next, or Longer. Deep in trouble I aplied to Esq. McCarter [McCarty] who informed me we had afronted our Counselor by apearing for Constitution that the Legislatur was oposed to us in Sentiment, and that if we would Se good Days and Secure our intrest, we must change our Pollaticks and become Antefederals— With a heavy hart an Pocket Light I impatiently waited you comeing here but have heard Nothing Direct from any of you till this moment I received a letter from Mr. Lott Dated Nov. 5th, which asure me of his friend ship and Good intention but the Long time it has had in comeing Destroys much of its Sweets. . . . I cannot tell my wants and wory with Pen But hope you will find it in your way to come here and See for your self and feel for your Friend and humble Servant.

Colonel John Neilson seems to have been particularly impressed by Knowles' comment on the Constitution, and naturally so, for he had been one of the men appointed in New Jersey to attend the Federal Convention (although he did not attend), and he had served in the New Jersey convention which had ratified the new constitution unanimously.

John Neilson to Eleazer Knowles

New Bruns.
Feb. 17, 1789

. . . . . .

I hope the opinion that to secure your interest & to see good days you must change your Politicks and become Antifederals will ere long discover its impropriety and with its votaries become disregarded, and that the pure principles of the New Constitution with its Advocates will be raised into esteem, even in the State of New York, as the only means of securing the rights and priveleges of the Inhabitants of this country, and of setting the United States of America in an honorable point of view as a nation. . . .

In spite of the fact that he was locked up in debtors' prison in New York City, Abraham Lott was an ardent advocate of the Federal Constitution. His debtor status, it is true, was probably not the usual one. His difficulties arose out of his inability to convert large frozen assets into cash when it was needed. His Federalist bias and his opinion of Peter W. Yates in particular are portrayed in the following:

Abraham Lott to John Neilson

New York
March 20, 1789

In my last . . . I hinted that a Bill had passed the Senate for my liberation, and that I anxiously waited the Result of the deliberation of the As-

sembly thereon. As I expected, so it has happened; the Majority, being truly Antifederal, and therefore, as heretofore, with hearts desperately wicked, and doing evil continually, have not concurred in the bill. Thus I must remain immured, and with patience wait, until the time arrives that we shall have men of honor in the Assembly, and then, but not till then, do I expect justice will be done unto me; and what is of far more importance to the Union of the States. . . .

I send you Knowles's Letter by which you will see that P. W. Yates & our Cousin McCarty want them to be turn Coats; which I, by all means advised them not to be. . . . I have advised Mr. Knowles & others, as P. W. Yates will not open his mouth without 29/ to apply to Mr. Gilbert, of Hudson, who [*sic*] you know, and who I am certain will give them better advice than P. W. Yates, as he [Gilbert] is federal and comes from Connecticut. . . .[2]

Under any circumstances it was exasperating to see the determination of the long-pending litigation further postponed, but it was doubly irksome when it seemed to be done deliberately by their own lawyer for his own political purposes. The Federalist clients concluded, however, to swallow their indignation and retain a political foe as one of their counsel. John Neilson gives the reason for this decision.

John Neilson to Abraham Lott

New Bruns.
Feb. 26, 1789–

. . . . . .

Mr. Yates's conduct would appear strange from a man of unsullied reputation but not so for one whose character is represented as one wanting integrity; our business is in his hands and too well known by him I suppose for us to quarrel with him, we must therefore submit to the inconvenience of his illiberal behaviour and make the best of our situation [which is] so much in his power. . . .

[2] There are a number of statements in the Abraham Lott—John Neilson correspondence which indicate that Lott thought that Connecticut settlers in New York were more tenacious and canny than others in defense of their rights. For this reason he preferred to have them as purchasers in the disputed Coeymans tract.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

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## *New Members*

Since October the number of the Associated Friends has increased to 373. The names of the new members follow:

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## *New Book by Dr. E. L. Stevenson*

Former pupils of Professor Edward Luther Stevenson will be interested to know that the Rutgers University Press has recently issued an advance notice of a book, *Sebastian Cabot and His Spanish Services*, by Dr. Stevenson, which it proposes to publish in 1941. The handsome prospectus reproduces in collotype a map of the world, dated 1544 and attributed to Cabot, from the unique original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

# THOU QUEEN OF RIVERS, RARITAN!

*One of our learned Correspondents recently favored the Editor with some fruits of his Researches which we believe will prove of interest to Rutgers Antiquaries. Though the Writer signed his letter by a* nom de plume, *we have identified him as a certain Student of topographical Poetry who has for some years been a Member of the Faculty of the New Jersey College for Women.*

To Rudolf Kirk, Esq.
Professor at the College of Queen's in the Town of New-Brunswick
Honoured Sir:

I who now write to you am a Man of small Learning and little Wit, who, none the less, fosters a Tenderness toward all—even among the gentle Sex—who profess and call themselves Servants of the Nine. As I sat in my Grotto of late, my man Prateapace conveyed to me a Parcel of Papers which I at once perused. I derived no slight Satisfaction from an Edict issued by our former Governor ordaining that "all women, of whatever age, profession, or rank, whether maids or widows, who shall, after this Act, impose upon, seduce, or betray into matrimony any of His Majesty's subjects, by virtue of scents, cosmetics, washes, paints, artificial teeth, false hair, or high-heeled shoes, shall incur the penalty now in force against witchcraft and like misdemeanours." Down, *saeva indignatio*, down. Can such things be? Surely the female World should ponder and inwardly digest the Portrait of *Maria* (how like, ye Loves, to my own Amanda) in the little Effusion contained in another of these Papers which I hasten to dispatch to you that, ere it be too late, you may hold up to those young Gentlemen *in statu pupillari*, to whom you stand *in loco parentis*, a mirror of true female Modesty and Worth. I have, moreover, assumed the unwonted Liberty of forwarding another set of Verses in which, albeit that Lactilla and not Bacchus hath touched the Bard's trembling Ear, all true Lovers of Poesy will discern a Heart that feels and Tears that flow. And now, Honoured Sir, I take my leave that I may direct to the learned Editor of the *Times* the fervent Hope that our invincible *Churchill* may continue, as formerly with the great *Eugene*, to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

I am, Sir,
Your Constant Reader, And Well-wisher:
SERENITAS

The following verses which were written several years ago, the author never designed to publish; but having got possession of them, I cannot withhold from my readers a specimen of my friend's early genius. If my partiality does not deceive me, they will be found to breath [*sic*] the genuine spirit of Love and Poetry.

The Raritan

## *Address to the River Rariton*[1]

Hail, *Rariton*, the boast of *Jersey*'s plain,
Of all thy numerous sister streams the pride,
That roll, their names unaltered to the main,
Or lose them, wedded to some mightier tide.

Oft have I seen thee from thy humble spring
Where wood-crown'd *Schooley*,* rears his rugged head,
O'er his black rocks thy whiten'd torrent fling,
And rage impetuous thro' thy broken bed.

Then lost in woods, imperious shape thy way,
Heard loud (sweet nature's Music) though unseen,
Till smoothed, yet rapid, rushing into day,
Paint the gay Heavens in thy glassy plain.

Still as thou wind'st along the smiling vale,
And bending striv'st t'extend thy fost'ring sway,
Each grateful field assumes a deeper green,
And by adoring hastens to repay.

The tow'ring Hemlocks interpose their shade,
And on thy banks the Conic Cedars rise,
To keep thee tranquil in thy lowly bed,
While the loud tempest sweeps athwart the skies.

Oh, let me still thy sinuous course pursue,
While many a sudden bend, still cheats my way—
Again thou meet'st my long enquiring view,
Where the gay sunbeams on thy waters play.

Thence let me trace thee, where in gay increase
Thou visit'st *Sidney's* hospitable dome;—
Dear seat of plenty, health, and rural peace;
And every pleasure virtue calls her own.

But chief, of beauty—blest with ev'ry grace
That sportive nature to her fav'rite gives:
An angel's person; and an angel's face,
An angel's mind;—'tis here *Maria* lives.

With every charm that cities can impart,
*Maria* boasts what cities cannot show;

[1] Frankly, "Address to the Rariton [*sic*]," *The Companion and Weekly Miscellany* (Baltimore), I, 207–208 (no. 26, Sat., April 27, 1805).

* (*Schooley*) *a mountain in Jersey.*

Unwarped simplicity, a guileless heart,
  Pure and unsullied as the virgin snow.

All-lovely Nature! still thou warm'st my breast,
  Though clothed in tatters at the cottage door:
But, when in Heav'ns own radiant image drest,
  T'admire is cold!—I hail thee and adore!

Can all the slipp'ry polish art affords,
  Th' obedient smile that waits at will to start;
The phrase composed with all the pomp of words—
  Pay for one warm effusion of the heart.

Pay for the smile illumining the face,
  With sweet contagion spreading all around;
The hand frank-offered, whose untutored grace
  Expects a friend, and welcomes him when found;

Let me kind Heaven, if it be my lot
  From youth to age the whole long course to run,
Find nature a companion in my cot;
  And toss to kings their sceptre and their crown.

Flow on loved *Rariton*!—to other scenes
  Thy tributary waste of beauties pour—
No banks can grace thee like these happy plains,
  No verdure crown thee as on *Sidney's* shore.

No eye so bright as fair *Maria's* trace
  Thy tangled current glitt'ring 'neath the beam;
No form so fair, reflected in thy face,
  Shall look the smiling goddess of the stream.

Flow murmuring on—too soon to quit the shades,
  And sylvan honors that adorned thy wave;
The Prow too soon thy tranquil breast invades,
  And busy commerce claims thee as its slave.

## *Ode to the River Raritan*[2]

Lost in a pleasing wild surprise,
I mark the fountains round me rise;

[2] These verses were communicated to the Editor of the *European Magazine* [London, Vol. XLIX (May, 1806), 373–4] with the accompanying note:

Sir,

Visiting, last winter, my friend Mr. George, at Raritan, in New Jersey, I wrote an Ode to the River. I now take the liberty to transmit it to you considerably enlarged, and, I flatter myself, somewhat revised and corrected.

Accept my kind salutations.

John Davis

New York, January 4, 1806.

And in an artless current flow
Thro' dark and lofty woods below,
That from the world the soul confine,
And raise the thought to things divine.
O sacred stream! a stranger I
Would stay to see thee passing by,
And mark thee wandering thus alone,
With varied turns so like my own!
Wild, as a stranger led astray,
I see thee wind in woods away,
And hasting thro' the trees to glide,
As if thy gentle face to hide.
While oft in vain thou wouldst return,
To visit here thy native urn:
But like an exile doom'd no more
To see the scenes he lov'd before,
You wander on, and wind in vain,
Dispers'd amid the boundless main.
Here often on thy borders green,
Perhaps thy native sons were seen,
Ere slaves were made, or gold was known,
Or children from another zone
Inglorious did, with axes rude,
Into thy noble groves intrude,
And forc'd thy naked son to flee
To woods where he might still be free.
And thou! that art my present theme,
O gentle spirit of the stream!
Then too, perhaps, to thee was given
A name among the race of heaven;
And oft ador'd by Nature's child
Whene'er he wander'd in the wild.
And oft, perhaps, beside the flood,
In darkness of the grove he stood;
Invoking here thy friendly aid
To guide him thro' the doubtful shade:
Till overhead the moon in view
Thro' heaven's blue fields the chariot drew,
And show'd him all thy wat'ry face,
Reflected with a purer grace;
Thy many turnings thro' the trees,
Thy bitter journey to the seas.
While oft thy murmurs loud and long
Awak'd his melancholy song;
Which thus in simple strain began,
"Thou Queen of Rivers, Raritan!"

# NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

## *PHI BETA KAPPA LITERATURE IN THE LIBRARY*

When the movement was begun in the late sixties of the last century to obtain a charter for an Alpha of New Jersey of Phi Beta Kappa, little if any literature respecting the Society was to be found in the Rutgers Library. Of Phi Beta Kappa, members knew only what they had been told at their initiations, and what they could gather at the few meetings they were privileged to attend.

One of those who joined in the application was President William H. Campbell who had become an honorary member of the Union College Chapter on July 23, 1844. The second applicant, David Murray, Union 1852, was a member of the same chapter. Jacob Cooper, Yale 1852, the third petitioner, was the moving spirit in the effort to get a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers. He had come to regard with deep interest the Society which, the year before his initiation, had celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. Cooper came to Rutgers in 1866 as Professor of Greek and remained in that position until his death in 1904.[1]

According to Cooper's diary, letters went out from Rutgers to the six leading Alphas, whose consent was then necessary for admission to the Society, on May 26, 1868, and on February 22, 1869, the Alpha of New Jersey was instituted as the twentieth in the succession of chapters granted up to that time. At the time about two hundred and twenty-five Phi Beta Kappa pamphlets—one hundred and twenty orations, forty-four poems, and sixty-one catalogues—had been printed, but not one of these items had found its way into the Rutgers Library. The fact was, however, that no college library had at the time begun such accumulations.

The present collection in the Rutgers library may be attributed to the interest of Dr. Henry Rutgers Baldwin, Class of 1849, who in 1889, as president of the Alpha of New Jersey, asked two of the younger members to prepare papers on the history of the Society. The writer of this paper took that invitation seriously and set about to learn something of the Society's beginnings, which up to that time had remained in some obscurity, the records of the original Alpha at William and Mary then being generally supposed to be lost, though actually they had in 1848 come into the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. When the Rutgers Library was consulted it was found to contain only two Phi Beta Kappa items. One was an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1879, by Dr. Edward Everett Hale entitled "A Fossil from the Tertiary," telling something of the early growth of the Society, and particularly of the activities of Elisha

[1] A memorable incident in the career of Cooper at Rutgers was a visit which he made in 1902 at the home of Mr. Ralph Voorhees in Clinton, after which announcement was made that the latter had contributed $50,000 for a library (the first unit of the present Rutgers library building).

Parmele who had carried the charters from Virginia to New England. An article even more rewarding to the historian was "The First Greek Letter Society," which appeared in the *Delta Kappa Epsilon Quarterly* of October, 1886. The author, the Hon. John DeWitt Warner, had copied the original records, and quoted from them in support of his contention that Phi Beta Kappa was in fact the earliest college fraternity.

The next step was to visit Mr. Warner and to make a copy of his copy of the original records. That transcript now rests in the Rutgers Library together with the manuscript of the paper on the Society's history read before the Alpha of New Jersey on January 16, 1890. This same paper, rewritten, was a year later published in the first Catalogue of the Rutgers chapter, and the Phi Beta Kappa world was thus given the first authentic knowledge of the Society's beginnings in a Rutgers publication.

From that time on the Rutgers Library was in a peculiarly fortunate position for receiving the Society's publications, for not long after, the author of that historical paper (and of this brief account) was elected secretary of the United Chapters, a post which he held for thirty years. In addition, beginning with the volume of 1910, he edited *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* for a period of twenty-one years. He also cooperated with the librarian in accumulating earlier publications of the Society. Among them are four of the six Phi Beta Kappa items published before the end of the eighteenth century: an oration by Charles Chauncey, Jr., delivered before the Alpha of Connecticut in 1797; another by Timothy Bigelow before the Alpha of Massachusetts in 1796; a third, delivered in 1798 by John Thornton Kirkland, then a professor but later president of Harvard; and a poem by Thomas Paine (who later took the name of Robert Treat Paine to avoid confusion with the author of *The Rights of Man*). This poem, which bore the title "The Ruling Passion" was a thirty-two page effusion which excited such unusual attention on its publication that it was said by Edward Everett Hale to have yielded its author $1500.

Other rare and curious specimens of Phi Beta Kappa literature in the Rutgers Library include eleven orations and one poem published at Yale before the organization of the United Chapters in 1883 (thirty-four orations and twelve poems in all are known to have been published at Yale up to that time); eighteen of the thirty-five orations and four of the twenty-eight poems published at Harvard in the same period; and seven orations from Dartmouth, ten from Union, three each from Bowdoin and Brown, and one delivered at Alabama but published in New York. No effort has been made to hunt out Phi Beta Kappa orations and poems in general periodicals in the Library, but the number in pamphlet form, including the notable historical publication of the Alpha of New Jersey already mentioned, has reached a total of fifty-two.

In addition the Library has seventeen catalogues of early Alphas, including the first ever to be issued—that of the Alpha of Massachusetts, published in 1806. These are of less importance, perhaps, since a General Catalogue of 1500 pages, compiled by the writer of this paper, was pub-

lished in 1922, and a new Phi Beta Kappa Directory was published in 1941. The Rutgers Library has these and also the valuable *Bibliography of Phi Beta Kappa*, edited by Dr. Clark S. Northup (1928), in which all available information respecting the Society's publications is set forth. The Library also has all current publications, including the seven volumes of *The Phi Beta Kappa Key*, and a complete set of the *American Scholar*, begun in 1932.

Though not all the orations of the Society have the quality of Emerson's famous "American Scholar," yet there is much wisdom and more of curious history in these publications.

Oscar M. Voorhees

## *NEWSPAPERS ACQUIRED*

During recent months the Rutgers Library has acquired several notable additions to its collection of newspaper files.

Students of the penny press in America will be interested in two bound volumes: The New York *Sun* from January 1 to June 30, 1835, and the New York *Transcript* from March 23 to August 22, 1835. Both volumes afford excellent material for a study of the journalism which seeks mass circulation.

The *Sun*, founded by Benjamin Day on September 3, 1833, as a 4-page, 4-column paper, was the first paper to break away from the six-penny price. Day was not impressed with the importance of printing political news; he featured police court items, crime, and the other "human interest" stories. He eschewed all ties with political parties, relying on circulation and advertising to pay expenses. Day was the first to sell papers to newsboys and require them to collect from subscribers.

The full flowering of Day's theories can be studied in the 1835 issues. The record of the police court, written, incidentally, by George W. Wisner at a salary of $4 a week, is complete, humorous, often salacious. Here is an example:

> James Fisk, shipmaster, had some domestic difficulties, got drunk to cure it [sic], and got down in the street. Fined $2 and costs.

Day published occasional serious articles, and poems were a regular page-one feature. "The Prairies," by William Cullen Bryant, was reprinted June 2, 1835, from the *Knickerbocker* magazine. Foreign news was brief. Advertisements consisted of highly questionable medical claims and a few classified announcements.

The *Transcript*, which first appeared March 10, 1834, as a rival of the then very prosperous *Sun*, was published by three printers, who openly patterned the *Transcript* after the *Sun*. The paper sold for one penny, was similar to the *Sun* in format, adopted the same news values plus added emphasis on sex stories, and printed the same astounding medical cures and claims.

Dr. Asa Greene, first editor, named William Atree to write the daily police court journal. Atree was allowed unlimited space. The volume now owned by the library shows the work of these two men at its zenith. Atree's police items were spicy and would be shunned by any decent paper today. Here is a sample selected at random:

John Laird got drunk as a laird, and raised a row in Rutger's street. Mackenzie, a watchman, warned him to be wary of his ways, and chary of his conduct, and Laird fell foul of him and slit his coat in several places. Committed.

Dr. Greene aided and abetted Atree in his efforts to amuse the reader. His editorial paragraphs represented a curious mixture of serious preaching and tongue-in-cheek tom-foolery. The following appeared August 18, 1835, immediately after a rather serious article:

Mrs. Mary Put has put forth an advertisement against the absconding Mr. Put, who, though put together with her in the holy bands of wedlock, will not stay put.

During the period from April 17 to 20, 1835, the *Transcript* devoted almost all its space to the "Trial of the Prophet Matthias for the Murder of Elijah Pierson." The acquittal of Matthias was bitterly protested in an editorial.

Hard luck dogged the *Transcript*. The volume under discussion contains an account of a disastrous fire which leveled its plant at 34 Ann Street on August 12. The paper moved to City Hall Place, and proudly announced the purchase of a new $3,000 double cylinder press. It claimed a circulation then of 17,000. The *Transcript* went out of existence in 1839.

A third volume presents an entirely different type of publication. It contains the *Anti-Masonick Rhode-Islander*, published at Newport, R.I., Vol. I, from April 29 to November 25, 1829, and the *Moral Envoy*, issued at Fall River, Massachusetts, Vol. I, March 17 to December 8, 1830. Both were published by George Wheaton Allen.

These two newspapers, both short-lived, were direct products of their time. They flourished in the excitement over Free Masonry which was aggravated when William Morgan, a brewer of Batavia, New York, disappeared in 1826 after threatening to expose the secrets of the order. Out of the furore caused by his murder sprang an Anti-Masonic party, which held its first national convention in 1831, with all states represented. The party was strongest in New England and for a time dominated Vermont politics. The *Rhode Islander* and the *Moral Envoy* made their appearance during the peak of the controversy.

The first issue of the *Rhode Islander* warned the reader:

Our columns will be uniformly devoted to Anti-Masonick, Moral, Scientifick, Literary, and Political Subjects, either original or selected; and to the encouragement of Industry, Economy, Temperance, and the diffusion of truth and useful knowledge.

The *Moral Envoy* also attacked Free Masonry as dangerous to liberty and equal rights. The Morgan case received constant attention. The *Envoy* appeared in black columns September 15, 1830, on the anniversary of Morgan's death. All news concerning the case was given extensive space.

Other recent acquisitions include:

*National Gazette and Literary Register*, published at Philadelphia by William Fry, Vol. 12, January 2 to December 31, 1836. The first half of this paper's name was the same as that of the journal published by Philip Freneau, from 1791 to 1793.

The *New Hampshire Gazette*, published by Peirce and Garner, "printers to the state and the Laws of the United States," at Portsmouth, December 20, 1808, to December 26, 1809. A reprint of the first issue, October 7, 1765, appears on the flyleaf. The *Gazette* contains the official records of Congress, letters from prominent individuals, and a political commentary by one "Aristides."

The New York *Herald*, the weekly edition of the New York *Post*, January 4 to December 29, 1804. The *Herald* was a famous Federalist weekly, edited by William Coleman, "field-marshal of the Federalist editors." It was made up from type used in the *Post* and circulated outside New York City.

The *Time-Piece and Literary Companion*, a tri-weekly published in New York by "Phip Freneau and A. Menut." Vol. 1, May 1, 1797, Vol. 2, 15 or 20 issues.

Taken together these acquisitions constitute a valuable addition to the Library's resources for research.

FRED E. MERWIN

## *BOOKS BY LANE COOPER*

Now on exhibition in the rotunda of the Rutgers Library are the books and articles of the distinguished scholar-alumnus, Lane Cooper, Class of 1896, head of the department of comparative literature at Cornell University. Professor Cooper has given the following definition of the place of research and publication in the life of the teacher in a university:

> The best scholar, serving his country to the utmost, may be defined as the best man studying the best things in the best way. . . . No one who is not a scholar can be a teacher, and, other things being equal, the better scholar he is, the better teacher he will be; and the more productive he is in the normal way of published studies, the more refreshing will his personality become to his thirsty students. It is better to drink of a flowing brook than from a stagnant pool; and the doctrine of faith without works has no lasting appeal to a healthy mind.

The mere range and variety of Dr. Cooper's writings are evidence that he has not attempted to justify himself by "faith without works."

His publications may roughly be divided into two parts: the earlier ones having to do with education, and the later, with his own scholarly interests. Most of the articles on education have been collected into the volume *Two Views of Education*. Here also are found the earlier essays on what has become Dr. Cooper's chief scholarly interest, the study of the classics. A similar collection of essays, *Aristotelian Papers*, supplements other longer studies, as well as translations, of Plato and Aristotle. In *Evolution and Repentance*, in addition to the essays bearing directly on the title, appear earlier published articles on English literture and the classics. And in this same volume we find an essay on concordance-making which explains the technique employed in the construction of the impressive concordances to Wordsworth, Horace, Boethius, and Milton.

Professor Cooper's publications are the fruit of his conviction that scholarly publication is the "sign of a deep abiding interest in one's subject and of a desire for the welfare of humanity."

DONALD J. MCGINN

THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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THIS Association was founded on May 21, 1937, to maintain an organization of persons interested in books, to assist in bringing to the Library of Rutgers University funds for special needs beyond the command of the Library budget, to encourage gifts of books and manuscripts, and to cooperate with the Librarian and the Library Advisory Board in the development of the resources of the Library under the direction of the Library Committee of the Board of Trustees of Rutgers University.

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# *The* JOURNAL

## OF THE

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DECEMBER 1940

VOLUME IV NUMBER 1

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Whitman *vs.* Parton . . . . . 1
Deshler and the Know Nothing Party . . . . . 9
Hashimoto Sanai: A Japanese Martyr . . . . . 15
The Associated Friends . . . . . 22
Notes from the Library . . . . . 28

Review of *Bishop Butler, Moralist and Divine* by William J. Norton, Jr., by René Wellek, p. 28; *New Magazine Files*, by L. A. M., p. 30; *Conscription, 1776*, by R. K., p. 31; Another Presidential Autograph, by R. K., p. 32.

Articles on topics which are based on material in the Rutgers University Library will be gladly received by the editors of *The Journal*. Address all communications to The Editor of the Journal, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

WALT WHITMAN

*From a photograph in the Sharpe Collection in the Library*

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# *The* JOURNAL
## OF THE RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Volume IV DECEMBER 1940 Number 1

## WHITMAN *VS.* PARTON

*By* Oral S. Coad

*Two years ago Dr. Coad published in* The Journal *a detailed account of a Walt Whitman manuscript which is in the Library. Since that time more Whitman materials have been acquired by the University. From a portion of this material Dr. Coad has been able to fill out the story of a much-debated controversy concerning a debt of Whitman.*

A MINOR episode in the career of Walt Whitman, which is sometimes omitted entirely by his biographers but which generated considerable heat in its day, is the Parton debt controversy. Probably the fullest report of the matter hitherto available is the brief statement, containing Whitman's own written summary, in Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. The Library of Rutgers University has recently acquired a set of manuscripts—mainly unpublished letters to and from William Sloane Kennedy, the poet's friend and champion—that gives a more complete record of the dispute than is to be found elsewhere. While the whole affair was little more than a tempest in a tea-pot, as one of the participants said, yet, since it concerned the character of a famous man who has always been something of a storm center, it may be of interest to get at the facts as nearly as possible.

The debt in question, although contracted late in 1856 or early in 1857, did not reach the controversial stage until after Whitman's death. In the *New England Magazine* for January, 1893, appeared an article on James Parton, the distinguished biographer, who had recently died. In the course of the article the author, Julius H. Ward, cited as evidence of Parton's gener-

osity a loan of $200.00 to an "impecunious poet, since widely known to fame," which sum Parton had intended to spend on a trip to New Orleans to gather material for a life of Andrew Jackson. The unnamed poet, we are informed, assured Parton that he could make repayment whenever it was required, but "the money was never returned." On March 7, 1895, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was never able to accept Whitman, wrote to Kennedy in defense of his aversion, offering as partial justification the poet's "want of personal honesty in business matters—as shown in the anecdote told of him by J. H. Ward in his paper on Parton in the N. E. Magazine—a fact told me by Parton himself, one of the most truthful men I ever knew."[1]

Kennedy lost no time in launching an investigation. On March 14, Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke of London, Ontario, who had brought out a biography of Whitman in 1883, replied to a letter he had just received from Kennedy and confirmed the latter's belief in the poet's honesty. To justify his faith in their friend Bucke wrote:

> I first saw Whitman in '77—he undoubtedly looked upon me from the first as a well off man—in '79 when he was sick in St. Louis I asked leave to send him $100.00 he declined saying that he had good friends and needed nothing. Later I pressed upon him $200.00 meaning it as a gift but he took it as a loan—several times he spoke of repaying it but I always put the matter aside saying that he owed me nothing—(and as a matter of fact he did *not* owe me anything for his friendship had been a thousand times more to me than the money). Well in the end, a year before his death, in spite of my protestations, *Whitman paid me the two hundred dollars*. . . .
>
> My dear boy the thing is out of the question—it was not *in* Walt to do anything of the kind. . . . Walt may not have been a saint but there is no manner of doubt that he was one of the loftiest minded, one of the proudest men that ever lived. If a thing seemed right to him he would probably do it though all the world condemned it, but a sneaky action like this he simply *could not have done. He could not have done it*—but I see no great difficulty in believeing that some pharisee *lied about it.*

Bucke, in turn, addressed a query to Whitman's brother George, who replied under date of March 26 that he was "much surprised & pained to learn of the charges made against Walt, & as it is the first I ever heard a word in regard to either of them [presumably the two charges of not paying his debt and of lying about it] I will not believe them without strong proof

[1] This and all other letters and manuscripts referred to in this article are a part of the recently acquired Whitman collection.

of their truthfulness, and as at this late day I can see no way of disproving stories of that kind, no matter how devilish or contemptible they may be, it seems to me the better way would be to take no notice of them & let them die out."[2]

Taking no notice was far from Kennedy's intention, however. The next item in the series is a long letter dated February 10, 1897, in reply to a communication from Kennedy to Parton's widow. It was written by Ethel Parton, niece of the lender of the money, who had been her uncle's secretary for years. She declares the story to be unquestionably true and that only Mr. Parton's magnanimity had restrained him from "public attack upon a man who had victimized him." She illustrates his real feeling toward the poet in the following passage:

> . . . I asked him, half-jesting, as he was dictating to me his polite declination of the request [to join in a testimonial to Whitman], why he did not give his very good reasons for declining. He replied laughing, "Why should I? The man is old, and very likely poor: I don't care to interfere with his receiving either cash or compliments after so many years. But he's a picturesque old scallywag with a dash of genius—that's all.—Good Gray Poet! Oh, Lord!"

Miss Parton reports the transaction in some detail, explaining that the money was lent on the distinct assurance that by a specified date Whitman would have received for a literary task that was nearly completed a sum more than sufficient to meet the obligation. When, after several postponements, it became evident that the money was not to be forthcoming, "an indignant legal acquaintance," whose name, as we later learn, was Oliver Dyer, asked permission to handle the affair, and Mr. Parton consented, telling him to "keep for his pains anything he could extract from Whitman." Investigation having proved, according to the writer, that "Whitman's tale of his literary enterprise and promised payment was untrue," the creditor was free from any qualms in the matter. She admits that Whitman offered "a few books and cheap pictures" toward a settlement; whether the lawyer took them she is unable to say, but declares that Parton "never received his money or anything else." The letter ends with the assertion that Parton "never ceased to resent what seemed to him so peculiarly base an ex-

[2] This letter is represented in the collection by a penciled copy of the portion quoted above, in Kennedy's handwriting.

tortion under false pretenses," and that thereafter he held Whitman "in complete contempt."

A second letter from Miss Parton, dated February 15, 1897, in answer to a "fair and kind" one from Kennedy, insists that the bad faith of Whitman, which puzzled Kennedy so much, was the whole ground of Mr. Parton's bitterness. The alleged literary work was an "entire fabrication" and that was the unpardonable thing in her uncle's eyes. This letter called out another from Kennedy that impressed Miss Parton as being neither fair nor kind. Replying on March 19, with an asperity obviously prompted by his, she exclaims that "Whitman is to me simply a formless literary monster and a poor sort of human being, and I am not in the least concerned for his reputation in either capacity."

The opinions so forcefully expressed by Miss Parton in this correspondence would seem to have shaken Kennedy's faith, if we may judge by a communication of March 19 from Thomas B. Harned, attorney-at-law. Replying to a very recent letter from Kennedy, he makes it clear that he and the other executors of Whitman's estate had absolutely no legal authority to pay the Parton debt, as apparently Kennedy had urged them to do. (Kennedy here inserted the marginal comment, "D—n yr law!") Harned goes on to declare: "For twenty years I was brought in personal contact with Whitman almost daily. I never heard his veracity impeached, nor do I believe he was capable of committing a dishonorable act." (Below this statement Kennedy penciled the retort, "v. his poems, he admits some himself.")

Other friends of the poet were less disturbed. On March 8, 1897, Whitman's Boswell, Horace Traubel, wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Fairchild:

> Harned has heard from the Partons & has replied to them in strong terms. There seems to be no scrap of paper or written record of any kind in this matter & the transaction is charged as having been made nearly 40 years ago. There is nothing beside the hearsay. Walt was when we knew him of strictest, severest, temper as affecting obligations of this sort. There seems no foothold for this story anywhere.

When Colonel Higginson, in the *American Co-operative News* (Cambridge, Mass.) of February, 1897, publicly accused Whitman of "leaving his debts unpaid and constructing for himself

a stately tomb at the cemetery,"[3] Kennedy prepared a long statement for the press (unpublished, so far as I have discovered) under the title "Did Walt Whitman Leave a Debt Unpaid?" While questioning Higginson's plural, he admits that the poet seemingly left one debt unpaid, but doubts that he lied about it and tries to find extenuation for the nonpayment in Parton's "telling all over New York to many members of the literary circle that said poet has borrowed money of him & is a rascal & liar," as well as in his loosing "the hounds of the law on him giving them carte blanche to worry & bait him to their hearts' content." At this point Kennedy hazards the conjecture that the lawyers may have got the money without ever reporting the fact to Parton. Throughout this document there runs a strain of troubled loyalty, which, while admitting that "Walt Whitman apparently did a wrong act early in life," and that he "had in him a Jekyll & a Hyde," insists that "A man is great in proportion as he subdues the bad & fosters the good in his nature. . . . Whitman's life must be pronounced victorious, on the whole."

It was not long before Kennedy felt his loyalty had been vindicated in a very satisfactory way, as is seen in an undated copy of an apparently unpublished letter he wrote to the editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, entitled "Walt Whitman Pays a Debt."[4] As this communication explains, Kennedy had recently learned of new evidence in the case which he hoped would bring to an end an affair that had occasioned "a great deal of heart-burning, fierce charges, temporarily cooled friendships and all sorts of misunderstandings." The new evidence was in the form of certain papers that had been found by the former wife of Whitman's friend, William Douglas O'Connor, indicating, so Kennedy asserts, that Whitman had

[3] This accusation was made in an article entitled "The Good Word Equality." In it Higginson asserts that the final test of unselfishness is willingness to sacrifice personal fame for service to humanity and that many heroes, authors, and philanthropists are found wanting when this test is applied. Whitman is mentioned as an example of authorial self-seeking. The *American Co-operative News* was a monthly periodical "devoted to the Rochdale plan of co-operation." A complete file is to be found in the Library of the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

[4] I have carefully searched the files of the *Transcript* for the years 1897 and 1898, but I find no indication that this letter was ever printed. It must have been written after his reply to Higginson's charge in the *American Co-operative News* and before his letter of October 22, 1898, discussed below.

fully discharged the debt.[5] But Mr. Parton naturally believed the debt still unpaid, "For the wily lawyer evidently pocketed what he got & said nothing." Kennedy also declares his belief that the guilt of deceiving Parton in the matter should rest partly with his first wife, a popular novelist who wrote under the name of Fanny Fern. "The latter is said to have had an unquenchable spite against Whitman. The cause of the first Mrs. Parton's hatred has been given confidentially to friends of the poet by the wife of a high government official but is of too private a nature to be published here. I will only say that Whitman's honor is untouched by it; rather is it increased." Above the word "nature" Kennedy wrote in pencil the rather disingenuous parenthesis, "(see Potiphar story of Bible—K)."

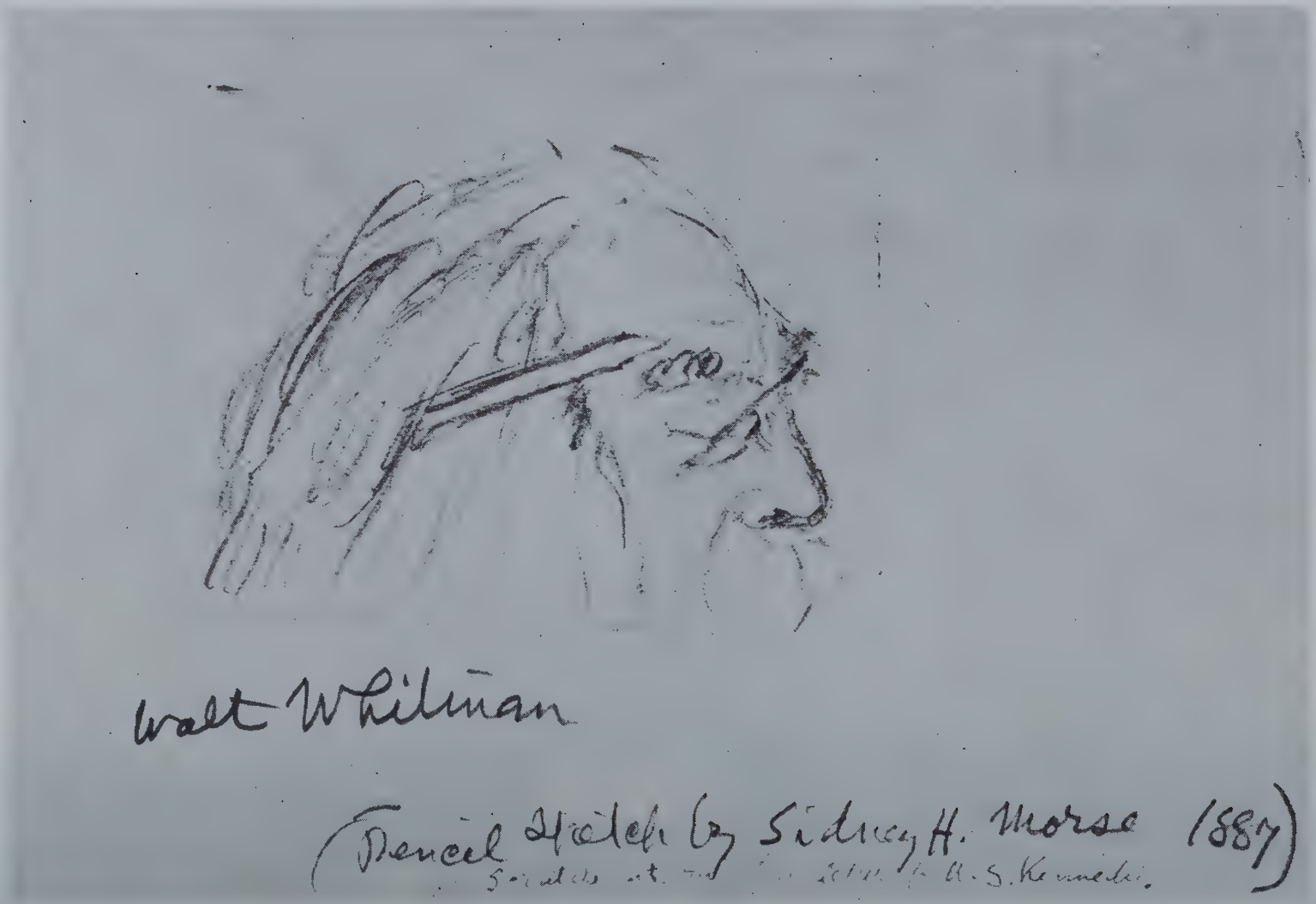
The final pertinent item in the Rutgers collection, a letter written by Kennedy to Traubel, Harned, and another friend on October 22, 1898, and labeled "Some Cool After-Thoughts on Whitman vs Parton," restates the case a little less confidently than does the communication prepared for the *Transcript*. The payment, it develops, was made in property, not money, and the difference between the two factions was partly a matter of valuation. Kennedy summarizes the situation thus:

> The Partons distorting everything diabolically . . . claim . . . that the property turned over was of no worth or of a trifling worth; Whitman claims [in the letter to O'Connor] that it was worth *more* than the debt. Ethel Parton writes to me that P. gave Dyer the debt for squeezing out of it what he cd, & claims that what was squoze was not worth shucks. It of course looks from a legal point of view . . . as if Dyer had signed a receipt in full, at Walt's valuation, & without a protest, in order to secure the booty given him by Parton. This he evidently did, & if he ever mentioned it to Parton or Fanny, belittled it or lied about it.

But, adds Kennedy, who was too honest to shut his eyes to his old friend's faults, "I still think, knowing Walt's inherited habit of occasional lying, that there were some too sanguine promises on his part of repayment, and too satisfied acquiescence in his own valuations."

As one reviews the evidence in the case, one inclines to a substantial acceptance of Kennedy's verdict with, perhaps, a reservation in respect to Fanny Fern, of whose ill conduct

[5] These papers consisted of duplicate receipts, dated June 17, 1857, and signed by Oliver Dyer, and a letter from Whitman to O'Connor, dated September 28, 1869. They were published in Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (1914), III, 237–239.




*From the original in the Rutgers Library*

there appears to be no positive proof.[6] Dyer certainly seems to have been guilty of chicanery, since, on the testimony of Miss Parton, the creditor "never received his money or anything else," yet the lawyer signed a receipt for books and pictures at a valuation of $181.00.[7] Whether the property was worth that sum or not, Parton, a man of the highest integrity, evidently never knew that his lawyer had accepted it at any such figure; consequently he went through the rest of his life cherishing a bitter animosity against the man who, he believed, had deliberately robbed him of his small savings at a time when he needed them sorely.

On the other hand Whitman's conduct in the affair is not wholly above reproach. If the literary project on the strength of which he promised early repayment was not "an entire fabrication," as Miss Parton declared it to be, it must have been an undertaking he was engaged on some months before Dyer signed the receipt in June, 1857. This would point to the second (1856) edition of *Leaves of Grass*. But the first (1855) edition had been a complete failure; according to Dr. Bucke "it is doubtful if fifty copies were sold in the first year after publication," and according to the poet himself, "I don't think one copy was sold—not a copy."[8] This would scarcely justify the assumption of substantial returns from a second edition—Kennedy's remark about "too sanguine promises" would certainly appear to have been in order. Furthermore the letter to O'Connor and the duplicate receipts leave one incompletely satisfied. The letter protests that Dyer took not only $181.00 worth of goods for which receipt was given, but also other property which upon more deliberate examination proved to be so acceptable that Dyer promised a receipt in full for the loan, plus costs of the suit at $16.00. "On meeting him afterwards . . ., once or twice [according to this letter], I mentioned the matter of a receipt in full, but never pressed it—never procured such receipt, nor the original note either."

[6] There is, however, some evidence that she was strongly attracted by Whitman and that he failed to respond in kind. See Emory Holloway and Vernolian Schwarz, *I Sit and Look Out* (1932), p. 211; and Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari, *New York Dissected* (1936), pp. 152, 153.

[7] This receipt is reproduced in Traubel, *op. cit.* III, 238.

[8] Introduction by C. J. Furness to reproduction of first edition of *Leaves of Grass* by Facsimile Text Society (1939), pp. xiv, xv.

Why? Possibly the answer is found in a memorandum on the reverse of one of the receipts:

> Mr. Dyer also took Jefferson's works and Carlyle's Cromwell at $9 (if he keeps them)—which would then leave $26. due as the Judgment or claim
> June 17, '57 W. W.[9]

So far as the records show no other payment was ever made; hence it is difficult to understand how Whitman could write in the O'Connor letter, "I consider the debt *paid*," but it may be that an uneasy conscience is revealed in the next words, "(though if I had wealth, today, I should certainly pay it over again, in cash)."

From this involved accumulation of data at least three conclusions concerning the Good Gray Poet emerge: first, without dishonest intentions he could be lamentably casual in money matters; second, he sometimes showed a tendency to reconstruct his past to his own advantage; and third, both in life and after death he always possessed the faculty, of which only dynamic personalities are capable, of engendering ardent enemies and equally ardent defenders.

* * * *

For the sake of completeness it should be said that the controversy broke out again, and in a more public way, in 1906 when Bliss Perry published his *Walt Whitman*, containing a short but unfavorable version of the Parton debt affair. Traubel and others sprang to the poet's defense in the *Conservator* of November, 1906, and several subsequent issues. Traubel's publication of the letter to O'Connor and the receipts in 1914 pretty effectively precluded any further controversy, but the quarrel can be seen in its entirety only with the aid of the Rutgers manuscripts.

[9] Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 239.

# DESHLER AND THE KNOW NOTHING PARTY

*By* Paul Hallerberg

*Charles D. Deshler, druggist, editor, author, and one of the most active political leaders of the Know Nothing Party, left at his death a large body of manuscripts which were the collections of a lifetime of contacts with some of the most prominent Americans of the last half of the nineteenth century. His son, Charles Deshler of the Class of 1885, presented this group of papers to the Library, where after a few years it proved to be a valuable source of information on the life of the elder Deshler. Mr. Hallerberg, whose study of "Charles D. Deshler: Versatile Jerseyman" was based on these papers, is a graduate of Illinois College, 1937, and a master of Rutgers, 1939.*

IN THE decade which immediately preceded the Civil War, national politics in the United States were in a state of turmoil and flux. It was the decade marked by the decline and disintegration of the Whig Party, and by the rise of two new political organizations, the Republican Party, and the American Party—more commonly known as the Know Nothing Party. The latter, built on a rather intolerant platform of extreme patriotism, nativism, and anti-Catholicism, and made up largely of old Whigs and dissatisfied Northern Democrats, arose as a national party in 1854. Clothing itself with an atmosphere of deep mystery, it held its meetings in secret and exerted much of its force in its early stages through hidden channels. When its members were asked the nature of their organization, they would answer, "I know nothing."

Charles D. Deshler of New Brunswick, who had been a druggist, author, and pill manufacturer, became one of the important cogs in the machinery of the American Party when it assumed a national aspect, acting as its Corresponding Secretary from 1854 to 1856. Among the many items in the C. D. Deshler Papers in the Rutgers University Library are several important manuscript records, written by Mr. Deshler while he was acting as the secretary of this political organization, which throw new light on its obscure origin and brief history. Probably the most interesting of these is a carbon copy letterbook which covers the period from January 12 to March 10,

1855.[1] One of the letters in this collection, written by Mr. Deshler to a political friend in Vermont, gives an interesting version of the origin of the American Party.

New York Jan'y 20th/55.

R. M. Guilford Esq.
Burlington, Vt.
Dear Sir & Bro:—

Your favor of the 17th came to hand after I had dispatched my reply to yours of the 15th, but I will now proceed to answer your queries as contained in the note before me, to the best of my abilities.

It is impossible to say with whom the Order originated, since like all grand points, it is enveloped with a haze that is almost impenetrable. As well as I can judge, however, its origin was after this wise:—A few men, of rather humble position, so far as social or intellectual standing was concerned, who resided in this city [New York] were indignant at the uniform selection by all parties, of the foreign population for offices of various kinds. They were also indignant at the growing insolence and clamorousness of these "better citizens," and at the system of corruption which the desire to conciliate them, introduced to New York *City* politics. Hence they formed an alliance, declaring hostility to the Catholic and the foreigner, in this City, and I fancy without any intention even the most remote of forming a National Organization. Meantime, owing perhaps to a concerted organization of the foreign and Catholic population—the want of such an association was felt in adjoining States, where attacks were made upon the observance of the Sabbath, and upon the Common School system, together with other favorite American ideas. This suggested the idea of a National Organization; and with the suggestion, was introduced disorder among the old movers. Each wanted to rule, and none were equal to the self-denial of obedience. Therefore they agreed to differ, and they seperated [*sic*]. The one party calling themselves "Wigwams" and "lodges" were to operate North and East. The other, calling itself "Councils" was to go South and West.

Thus things went along, with frequent collisions and intrusions upon the jurisdiction of one another—till the *mass* of members in both became acquainted with the fact, and also that our aims were identical. They also soon saw, that the original movers, though good & patriotic men, were of too low a grade intellectually to guide the great movement which the party represented. A Convention was called, to be composed of one delegate from every Wigwam, Lodge, or Council in the two organizations.

[1] The manner in which these carbon copies were made was rather unusual. The writer would place the carbon paper (which was coated on both sides) under one of the thin transparent pages of the notebook; beneath the carbon paper was then placed his stationery; and finally under this was placed a hard surfaced piece of cardboard. With a pointed stylus the writer would then write his letter on the thin page of the notebook. The sheet beneath the carbon paper (the one we would ordinarily call the carbon copy) was the one sent as the original letter.

They met in May/54, agreed upon a plan of consolidation, and called a Grand Council of the United States, for the 14th June 1854.

This Council met accordingly, and by a remarkable coincidence, consisted of delegates from thirteen States. Its action resulted in the Constitution, Ritual & organization we now have.

It may be well to say that when the Councils and Lodges split, taking certain jurisdiction for their sphere of action, the former were principally under the guidance of C. B. Allen, —— Elliot, and Dr. J. Wilkinson Sleight; all of whom have since committed actions for which they have been expelled, or are in bad standing. They were feeble, vain men, who could not brook the inferior position to which they sunk by sheer force of *gravity*. The Lodges were under the head of Stephen B. Munn of New York, who is still an active and trusted member.

I cannot say how many were present at the original meeting which formed the order for the City purposes, but think 12 or 15. The subsequent Meetings, however, were largely attended and by able men—the attendance being between one and two hundred.

Should I learn anything more definite on these points, I will advise you.

Very faithfully
Ch. D. Deshler.

Although he does not say so, it is probable that Mr. Deshler attended the first consolidation meeting of the Wigwams, Lodges, and Councils held in May of 1854, for he later recorded that he had "slightly assisted in giving shape to its [the American Party's] principles and direction to its energies in its earlier and experimental stage."[2] Certainly he was a delegate to the National Council of the American Party which met the following month, for it was at this meeting that he was made Corresponding Secretary. While he preserved no records of what actually occurred at this meeting, he did keep a manuscript list of the membership of this Council of June 17, 1854.[3] In the letter previously quoted, he noted that thirteen states had sent delegates to this convention, but his roster contains the names of fourteen states together with the District of Columbia.[4] The states that were listed were: Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, South Caro-

[2] C. D. Deshler to Gen. W. S. Pilcher, et al, November 20, 1855, quoted in the *Fredonian* (New Brunswick), December 19, 1855.

[3] The manuscript is entitled: "Delegates to the National [Council of the American Party], June 17, 1854." None of the accounts of the beginning of the Know Nothing movement which the writer has examined makes any mention of this Council meeting of June, 1854.

[4] Several of the states, Kentucky, Maine and South Carolina, are listed with only one delegate, and it may be that one of these was not a delegate in the true sense of the word.

lina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

The letters of Mr. Deshler reveal the amazing growth of the American Party. He wrote on January 26, 1855, that "Our Order is in a most flourishing condition—excepting of course a few unimportant particulars growing out of our newness. There are now over 10,000 councils within the U. S., and a membership of over one million. We are in every State, and completely organized under State Councils in nearly every State and Council."[5] In another letter he noted that the state of Ohio had reported 830 Councils within its borders.[6] Late in 1855 he reported that in "respect of the condition of the party, it may interest you to learn that my tidings from all parts of the country are most gratifying. Everywhere it is gaining accessions, not only in number but of strength, and it now counts among its supporters and friends names that are historical, while thousands of the wisest and purest are looking on in profound and earnest expectation, hoping to find with us a refuge from the senility, the corruption, and the chaos of all other parties."[7] As Mr. Deshler's position in the party gave him a very good opportunity to know what was going on in the various state organizations, his estimate of the growth and size of the party is particularly important.

The question of slavery was growing to a fighting heat during the years in which the Know Nothing Party arose, and it also exerted its dividing influence on this political organization. Mr. Deshler wanted the American Party to leave this controversial question alone, and so stated in a letter to Gen. John M. McCalla of Washington:

> Cannot you persuade the editor of the "Organ" to preserve utter silence on the Slavery question? It is so pre-eminently and morbidly sensitive on the subject, and it is a question so intrinsically difficult that wisdom and true conservatism dictates perfect silence upon it. . . . Our Order is sound on that question, and will purge itself of the agitators. Trust us—and do not so constantly protrude before our gaze, what we wish to lose sight of.[8]

[5] C. D. Deshler to Rev. James A. Henry, January 26, 1855.

[6] C. D. Deshler to H. Crane, January 15, 1855.

[7] C. D. Deshler to Gen. W. S. Pilcher, et al, November 20, 1855, quoted in the *Fredonian*, December 19, 1855.

[8] C. D. Deshler to J. M. McCalla, January 20, 1855. The "Organ" he refers to was the *Daily American Organ*, published in Washington, D. C. as the official paper of the American Party.

# CHARLEY DESHLER

—AS—

## President of the Know-Nothing Council

"Let none but *American-born* Citizens Vote! Put none but *Americans* on guard! Let *no Foreigner* HOLD OFFICE!"

## President of Democratic Meeting.

"Oh! how happy you and I [illegible] here! I'ze so happy ez I'ze got a Fiddle in my belly. We all have Fiddles in our bellies!"

'85.

But the slavery question was not so easily dismissed, for when the National Council again met in Philadelphia on June 5th, 1855, it could not be put aside. The committee on Resolutions, of which Mr. Deshler was a member, examined the question and, unable to agree, finally submitted two reports. The majority opinion, representing the southern element, deemed it a matter of common justice to abide conclusively and finally by the existing laws on the subject of slavery in the states or territories. The minority report stated that the Missouri Compromise should be restored, and if Congress failed in this, it should refuse to admit any State tolerating slavery which should be formed out of the territory from which slavery was excluded by the Compromise. Mr. Deshler subscribed to neither of these reports, but made a separate statement that "I agree to the above [minority report] so far as it relates to the Missouri Compromise if the proposed action may be done legally and constitutionally." When the reports came up for a vote, Mr. Deshler voted against both, explaining that, "Believing the question of slavery to be an issue extraneous to the principles of the order, and without expressing any opinion upon the merits of that subject, I vote No."[9] When Kenneth Rayner, a prominent leader from North Carolina, offered a compromise resolution to the effect that the slavery question did not come within the purview of the American party and should be left to local law, the New York *Herald* noted that Mr. Deshler gave his assent to this resolution because of its "milk and water tendencies." Unfortunately the question of slavery was not satisfactorily settled and it ended with twelve of the Northern states withdrawing from the convention.[10] From then on the party was on the downgrade, and it failed to make a very impressive showing in the national election of 1856.

Because of his own oratorical outbursts Mr. Deshler was subjected to the attacks of his political opponents. A cartoon of the time (see facing page) pictures him as a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. On the one hand it labels him as the President of the Know Nothing Council in New Brunswick who is demand-

[9] See the *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 16, 1855; the New York *Express*, July 13, 1855; and the New York *Herald*, June 14 and 15, 1855, for accounts of this convention.

[10] New York *Herald*, June 14, 1855.

ing that none but the American-born be allowed to vote, while on the other hand he is labeled as the President of the Democratic meeting who seems to be catering to the foreigner with a slightly foreign accent. Just exactly what the "fiddle" represents is not known, but one word-of-mouth account has it that on one occasion, Mr. Deshler actually did become so excited in his oratory that, as he walked up and down the platform, his shirt came unbuttoned and he began to rub his stomach crying, "I'm so happy I feel like I've got a Fiddle in my belly." Perhaps Mr. Deshler's power and influence in New Jersey political life are shown by just such attacks as that pictured in this cartoon. When a person becomes so obnoxious to his political adversaries that he merits their abusive attack, he must be exerting some influence, whether good or evil. And he did receive his share of vituperative attack. On the other hand, he also received somewhat more favorable notice of his activities. The New York *Herald* remarked rather humorously, that "Mr. Deshler is extensively engaged in the pill business in New York, and since he has become a Know Nothing he bids fair to eclipse Moffat, and even Brandreth [famous for their pills]; for the demand for his pills has very much increased among the sick men of the old parties who come to him for relief."[11]

After the American party had suffered defeat in the national election of 1856, Mr. Deshler came to the conclusion that the American Party in New Jersey was powerless alone, and he proposed in 1858, that the American and Republican parties should join in their opposition to the Democrats.[12] His opposition to the Democratic machine did not last, however, for in his later years he became one of its loyal henchmen, and was duly rewarded by President Cleveland with the postmastership of New Brunswick.

[11] New York *Herald*, May 2, 1855.
[12] This proposition is found in a letter written to John Funk, September 1, 1858.

# HASHIMOTO SANAI: A JAPANESE MARTYR

*By* Frederick Welden

*Frederick Welden, a Rutgers graduate of the class of 1934, taught in the Oita College of Commerce in Japan during the years 1936 to 1939 and is now a graduate student in the Department of Chinese and Japanese at Columbia University. He has been given a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies to catalogue the Far Eastern Section of the Griffis collection in the Rutgers Library. In the following article he discusses a Japanese manuscript in the possession of the Library and gives a translation of parts of it which have an interesting bearing on the rise of modern Japan.*

AS IS commonly known, the modernization of Japan and her subsequent rise as a world power have been comparatively recent developments. From 1603 until 1868, the so-called Tokugawa period, the political, social, and economic structure of that country was of a distinctly feudal nature, and during most of this era all intercourse with Western traders, missionaries, and governments was repeatedly forbidden by Japanese law. Dutch traders alone—more specifically, traders in the employ of the Dutch East India Company—were exempted, but only under such numerous and unfair conditions as to leave them with little or no voice in the actual conduct and control of trade.

During these two and a half centuries government took the form of an hereditary military dictatorship dominated by the powerful Tokugawa clan, whose headquarters was in Edo, site of the present-day Tōkyō.[1] The imperial family, dwelling in the ancient capital of Kyōto in central Japan, retained certain traditional functions of minor importance, but was to all intents and purposes at the mercy of the Tokugawa.

By the middle of the nineteenth century corruption and incompetence in the Tokugawa line had already permitted defects inherent within their administrative system to come to the surface. This condition, together with the pressure exerted by some of the more influential provincial lords to restore imperial rule and the even more significant pressure of major

[1] The two Chinese characters for Tōkyō (東京) literally mean "Eastern Capital."

Western powers to force diplomatic and commercial intercourse upon Japan, finally resulted in a successful revolution and the restoration of the imperial form of government in 1868.

The first emperor of this modern era is known as Meiji, renowned for the progressive and cosmopolitan character of his reign. In his Charter Oath, in particular, one of five points provided that "wisdom and learning should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the empire."

It was in observance of this imperial edict that one Matsudaira Shungaku,[2] governor of the central province of Echizen, immediately directed his aides to seek an American teacher who could supervise the establishment of a school of American pattern in Fukui, the provincial capital. This teacher, employed in New York in 1870, was William Elliott Griffis, a graduate of Rutgers in the Class of 1869, who thereby became the first American to go out to Japan as an employee of the Japanese government.

Though he resided in Japan only four years (1870–74), Griffis never abandoned his many connections there, nor did his interest in and endeavors for friendly Japanese-American relations ever cease. Upon his death in 1928, a very considerable quantity of his books and papers, among them many pertaining to the Far East, passed to the Rutgers University Library, where they are still in process of being cataloged.

The Japanese manuscript with which we are here concerned was prepared especially for Dr. Griffis in 1907 by a brother and several friends of Hashimoto Sanai (橋本左內).[3] Its value may be explained on two grounds: In the first place, nothing of Sanai's early life has as yet been published in any Western language; while the best of our modern studies on Japan pay considerable tribute to him as a liberal, they record only the

[2] Matsudaira Shungaku (松平春嶽, 1829–90), sometimes known as Matsudaira Yoshinaga or Keiei (慶永), figured prominently in the Restoration of 1868, as will be seen in the course of this article.

It should perhaps be mentioned that in both Chinese and Japanese the surname is written before the given name, the latter being used in subsequent references to the person.

[3] The foregoing fact, derived from correspondence between Griffis and Hashimoto Tsunatsune, is significant in establishing the general background and authenticity of the manuscript. It should also be mentioned that a Japanese-made English translation accompanied the original work and, though incorrect or strangely rendered in places, has proved very useful to the present translator.

events of the last few years of his life. Secondly, this biographical sketch indicates a few of the many problems confronting Japanese reformers of the mid-nineteenth century and shows how close the Japanese were to bursting the shackles of isolation even before Commodore Perry sailed into Edo Bay in 1853. Sanai was a martyr, and in the light of present-day world turmoil the story of any martyr is perhaps doubly appreciated. The translation of the manuscript follows.

## *A Biographical Sketch of Hashimoto Sanai*

Hashimoto Sanai was born in the section called Tokiwa-machi of the city of Fukui, Echizen province, on the eleventh day of the third month of 1834. His father, Nagatsuna by name, was a man of considerable talent who served as physician in the court of the lord of Echizen. His ancestors belonged to the Momonoi family, near relations of the famous Ashikaga.[4]

Sanai was clever by nature and loved learning. He studied Chinese classics and history under the guidance of Yoshida Tōkō,[5] a noted scholar of the Fukui clan . . . In appearance he was of rather short stature and fair countenance, looking more like a young woman than a man. His admiration for the character of Yo Fei,[6] the Chinese patriot of the Sung dynasty, led him to assume in his early writings the *nom de plume* of Keigaku, or "Yo Fei admirer." He studied medicine and frequently practised in place of his father. Although very young, he is said to have been skilled in surgery, his father probably having been his sole teacher.

One day in his fifteenth year he remarked: "If I continue in this remote corner of Japan, I shall be unable to free myself from the narrow views incidental to these rural surroundings. I ought to study under a noted person in one of the principal cities of Japan." And so, crossing the island to Ōsaka, he studied Western learning and medicine under Ogata Kōan.[7]

In 1851, at the age of seventeen, he was obliged to return to Fukui on account of his father's illness, and the following year he had to take over the latter's practice because of his death. In 1854 he went to Edo to study

[4] The Ashikaga (足利) was one of the branch families of the Minamoto (源), who in turn stemmed from the imperial line, and had held secular rule during the period 1336–1573. E. Papinot, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon*, Yokohama, 1906, p. 30.

[5] 吉田東篁, 1808–75.

[6] Yo Fei (岳飛, 1103–41), a native of Honan province, was extremely active and capable as a military leader against the Tartar invaders. Though imprisoned on false charges and summarily executed by treacherous civil officials in 1141, he was canonized by the Chinese emperor in 1179 and today still ranks high among China's heroes. H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1898, pp. 949–50.

[7] "In 1838 Dr. Ogata [緒方洪庵] established his school in Ōsaka, and in the twenty-four years of its existence, 3,000 pupils passed through it. Among them were such men as Omura Masujirō, Hashimoto Sanai, Fukuzawa Yukichi, . . . all of whom afterwards became prominent figures in modern Japanese history, but not one attained fame through his medical acquirements." J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Kōbe and New York, 1903–26, III, 565.

under the direction of Sugita Seikei.[8] When he first met Seikei, the latter gave him a Dutch book to be learned by heart. Sanai studied very diligently and mastered it all in a month's time, much to the astonishment of Seikei, who thereupon declared that Sanai must become his successor. The next year, however, after having studied Chinese classics at the school of Shionoya Tōin and Yasui Sokken, Sanai returned to Fukui.

Matsudaira Shungaku, the lord of his clan, came to know of his case and shortly afterwards, having freed him from his responsibilities as court physician, sent him to Edo once more to complete his education. During this period Sanai acquired a thorough knowledge of foreign [i.e. European] countries and associated himself with the outstanding Japanese of the time. Moreover, as he broadened his knowledge and experience, he became conscious of a mightier purpose and it was at this juncture that he resolved to sacrifice himself for his country.

At one time Sanai had stated: "To think highly of the manners and loyalty of the *samurai*[9] has been the principle of our state since ancient times. If we remain faithful to *samurai* customs, it is evident that the manners of the people will become pure and simple, the soul of a *samurai* will be developed, and the condition of the country will become superior to that of any other land. We need not adopt the ways of China nor imitate the methods of the Dutchmen." From this we can see how highly he esteemed the native state of affairs in Japan . . .[10]

In 1856 the lord of Echizen established an academy in Fukui. It was his intention to appoint Sanai director, but the latter, declining the offer, explained that he desired another ten years in which to complete his studies in science and philosophy. In spite of this reply his lord insisted upon Sanai's return, and so he obeyed the command and was duly entrusted with the post of director of the provincial academy.

Students of those days were prone to discuss matters but to neglect their practical solution. Accordingly Sanai announced that henceforth his students must study literature and at the same time practise the military arts. Assisted by an able staff of young progressives, he devoted himself to the reformation of the existing educational system,[11] with the result that a real zest for learning was promptly aroused throughout the province.

Sanai took the academy of the Mito clan,[12] known as the Kōdōkan, for his model, and even adopted some of its regulations. The principles of the new school were loyalty and obedience, after the doctrine of Fujita Tōkō.[13]

[8] Sugita Seikei (杉田成卿) was a noted scholar and physician of the Dutch school.

[9] Feudal military retainers who constituted the lesser nobility.

[10] The drastic change in Sanai's attitude towards Western civilization is revealed in the paragraphs which follow. See also p. 20.

[11] For several centuries educational institutions in Japan had been founded and conducted along Chinese lines. Students were from noble families and spent most of their time memorizing and interpreting Chinese literature, history, and philosophy.

[12] The Mito (水戸) was one of the three branch families of the Tokugawa established early in the seventeenth century to provide an heir in case of failure of the main line.

[13] Fujita Tōko (藤田東湖, 1806–55) was a *samurai* and scholar, probably the leading intellectual of the Mito clan at the time. He served as chief councilor to his lord and bent his

It is also noteworthy that Sanai, reversing his previous position, came to introduce certain courses of European learning into the academy: mathematics, industrial arts, and military arts, for example.

In accordance with his other plans a steamship was purchased, the manufacture of small arms, cannon, and gunpowder was begun, mining operations were undertaken, and the sea coast of Echizen was surveyed.[14] He saw to it that every phase of these developments was directed by suitable persons and himself diligently studied the defense of the province. He encouraged both industry and agriculture and advocated the reform of commercial ethics. He also did his utmost to have Yokoi Shōnan properly employed in his clan.[15]

In 1857, his lord being then resident in Edo and having summoned him, Sanai once more journeyed eastward. There he was appointed personal adviser to the lord and so came to participate in affairs of state.

A short time before [1853] Commodore Perry had put in at Uraga Bay and demanded the opening of the ports. There ensued considerable tumult in every part of Japan; moreover, the policies of the Tokugawa government at Edo and those of the imperial court in Kyōto were not in agreement. At about the same time Iesada, thirteenth of the Tokugawa rulers, fell seriously ill, and there was no successor for him.[16] Leaders from several of the chief clans held a consultation and decided that the "prince" Hitotsubashi Keiki should be chosen heir of Iesada inasmuch as he was very clever and extremely popular with the people.[17] By means of this succession they hoped to settle such problems as treaties with foreign nations and the opening of the ports and, in addition, to bring both the Kyōto court and Edo government into agreement.

The Tokugawa regime, these clan leaders thought, should no longer be left free to exercise dictatorial powers, and since Sanai's own lord, together with the influential lords of Mito and Tosa, concurred in this view, Sanai and other liberal leaders from such clans as Mito, Satsuma, Tosa, and Yanagawa did their utmost to bring the matter to this conclusion.[18]

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efforts towards (1) restoration of the imperial rule, (2) revival of the ancient discipline through Shintoism, and (3) active repulsion of Western intercourse by means of increased national defense. Cf. Murdoch, *op. cit.* III, 457–66.

[14] The reader is reminded that for over two centuries the Tokugawa government had pursued an isolationist policy. Such modern developments as are mentioned above remained either unused or unknown in feudal Japan until the need for them was demonstrated by the invasions of Western missions in the early and middle nineteenth century.

[15] Yokoi Shōnan (横井小楠, 1809–69) was a *samurai* from the Kumamoto clan in western Kyūshū, renowned for his liberalism at the time of the imperial restoration. His reward was assassination by political enemies. Cf. Papinot, *op. cit.*, p. 888.

[16] I.e., in direct line.

[17] Hitotsubashi Keiki (一橋慶喜, 1837–1913) was eligible for the post inasmuch as both his own and adopted families were branch families of the Tokugawa. The reader will be interested to know that Keiki became the fifteenth and last ruler of the Edo government in 1866; under the name of Tokugawa Keiki or Tokugawa Yoshinobu he ruled until 1868.

[18] The Mito resided in Hitachi province, along the northeast coast of the main island, the Tosa in the province of the same name on the central island called Shikoku, the Satsuma in their own large province at the southern tip of the island of Kyūshū, and the Yanagawa in the province of Chikugo, in northwestern Kūyshū. The Japanese manuscript provides the

It is clear that Sanai entertained ideas favoring the establishment of a ministerial form of government with "Prince" Keiki at the head.[19] Again, he once stated that Japan "should hire fifty teachers of arts and sciences from Russia and America, and ought to transplant foreign knowledge. Thus in military and naval affairs, navigation, commerce, industry, agriculture, etc., we must not be inferior to foreign countries."

With regard to foreign relations and, in particular, the eastward advance of the British, he proposed that Japan should seek safety in an alliance with Russia.

"Considering the present state of the world, the country which will gain supremacy over the world will, in all probability, be either England or Russia . . . England is exceedingly avaricious. She has annexed India and threatened China. On the other hand Russia seems righteous and honest. She is a good neighbor with much the same interests as ours, and therefore we must form a close association with her."[20]

Sanai also believed that Japan, in order to maintain her independence, would have to take possession of Korea, Manchuria, and the eastern maritime provinces of Siberia and, above all else, would need colonies in India and America. It was likewise his opinion that Japan would come to play her rôle in the world's drama only by means of such steps and that it was essential to place "Prince" Keiki at the helm of the Edo government.

In the spring of 1858,[21] Sanai made his way southward to Kyōto and held secret interviews with Sanjo Sanemitsu, then Lord Chamberlain in the imperial court. Subsequently he was presented to His Imperial Highness Prince Seiren-in and to several other influential members of the court. Having secured their support, he submitted to the emperor a petition requesting that the Kyōto court (a) should direct "Prince" Keiki to assume the leadership of the Edo government, and (b) should itself conclude suitable treaties with foreign countries.[22] He remained in Kyōto three months striving to attain this object and then returned to Edo, there to devote himself with renewed vigor to the national cause.

In the meantime Ii Naosuke,[23] then prime minister in the Edo government, disdaining all other opinions and disregarding the instructions of

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names of several of these leaders: Takeda Kōunsai, Harada Hachibei, Harada Seinojō, Sakura Jinzō, Saigō Takamori, Tachibana Iki, *et al.*

[19] This fact may be deduced from one of Sanai's commentaries on domestic affairs, recorded on pp. 10–12 in the Japanese manuscript.

[20] A Japanese encyclopedia records this statement under the year 1857. Cf. *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (大百科事典), Tōkyō, 1934, XX, 632.

[21] Sanai was then in his twenty-fourth year.

[22] To appreciate the full significance of this effort on the part of Sanai the reader must realize that, except for occasional and relatively brief lapses, the actual power of government in Japan had rested for almost seven centuries in the hands of military rulers (called *shōguns*) or those about them, and not in the imperial family.

[23] Ii Naosuke (井伊直弼, 1815–60) was virtually premier-dictator from 1858 until his assassination two years later. It was he who concluded Japan's treaties with the foreign powers in 1858. Cf. Papinot, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–4.

the Kyōto court, supported "Prince" Kishū,[24] a rival claimant to the Edo office. When at last Tokugawa Iesada died [1858], this "Prince" Kishū succeeded him, taking the name Tokugawa Iemochi. One of the first acts of the new ruler, performed at the suggestion of Ii Naosuke, was to reprimand the four lords of Owari,[25] Mito, Tosa, and Echizen, to order them confined to their residences,[26] and to have many of their retainers seized.

Sanai, knowing that he would meet a similiar fate, determined to commit *hara-kiri*,[27] but refrained from doing so because of the admonition of his imprisoned lord . . . Finally one night, early in the tenth month of 1859, police of the Edo government searched his home and confiscated his letters and other writings. The following day he was summoned to court and imprisoned, and a few days later was put to death.

In a brief appendix to the original manuscript there are a few bibliographical notes pertaining to Sanai's various literary efforts in the fields of foreign trade, education, and agriculture, as well as a list of biographical materials on the life of Sanai.

There is also a note to the effect that when the Emperor Meiji made a tour through the northern coast provinces of Japan in 1878, he made a stop at Fukui. At that time Sanai's relatives were received in imperial audience and granted a sum of money towards the celebration of Sanai's anniversary. In 1885 this same emperor contributed to the erection of a monument to Sanai in the Senju district of Tōkyō and, in 1891, conferred the senior grade of the Fourth Court Rank upon the deceased patriot. Thus was the name of Hashimoto Sanai restored to its rightful place among Japan's honored sons.

[24] Kishū is the Chinese name for the Japanese province of Kii, which is situated in the south central part of the main island. The Kii family was an even older branch of the Tokugawa than was the Hitotsubashi; however, the "Prince" of Kii (who is called Kishū above) was then only twelve years old and could scarcely be expected to challenge Naosuke's power.

[25] The province of Owari occupied the region around the present-day city of Nagoya.

[26] The manuscript fails to mention that Iesada, just before his death, also severely punished the lords of Mito, Owari, and Echizen for the same reasons suggested above: viz., attempting to restore the influence of the Kyōto court and daring to nominate their own candidate for the head of the Edo government. Cf. Murdoch, *op. cit.*, III, 686–95.

[27] *Hara-kiri* (腹切), or "belly-cutting," is an ancient and honorable method of suicide, the right to which was formally reserved to those of the *samurai* class. Anyone taking his life in this manner spared both himself and his kin the dishonor which would otherwise have befallen them. In the above case his lord must have believed Sanai's life would be spared, else he most certainly would have encouraged the latter's resolve to avoid public execution.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

## *Recent Acquisitions in English*

*The following account of some recent additions to the Library's English literature shelves has been written for* The Journal *by the head of the Department of English.*

Since several thousand books have been added to the Rutgers Library during the last six months, it is patently impossible to mention more than a very few; and those few will be selected from a comparatively narrow field, namely, English literature. The acquisitions in this field may conveniently be divided into four groups: (1) first and early editions of seventeenth century writers, especially Milton; (2) publications of literary societies; (3) catalogues of great libraries; and (4) unexpected treasures.

Since last February we have acquired original editions of three of Milton's divorce tracts (*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* of 1644, *Tetrachordon* of 1645, and *Colasterion* of 1645), three political works (the *Defensio* of 1651, a later edition of the same work of 1692, and *Eikonoklastes* of 1649), and several other books (*An Apology* of 1642, *The History of Britain* of 1670, and the *Letters of State* of 1694). Among various useful companion books in this field which have been added are the rare index to Masson's *Life*, Aldis Wright's fine facsimile of Milton's Cambridge Manuscript, and Helen Darbishire's recent facsimile of the manuscript of Book I of *Paradise Lost*. With the Columbia set of Milton and other editions and critical works which we already have, these give us an excellent core of a working Miltonic library. They will stimulate and make possible better graduate work. In this same group should also be mentioned a first edition of William Prynne's *Histriomastix* (1633), one of the most famous of all attacks on the drama, Martin Marprelate's *Epistle* (1588), and Nash's *Pierce Penniless*, from which the original title page is missing, but which may prove on collation to be the lost 1592 edition.

The second best resource after first editions, many of which are either not available or else entirely beyond the means of ordinary buyers, is good reprints. Particularly welcome to the

student of English are the various society publications which have made accessible many rare and unusual works. Such publications as those of the Percy Society, the Shakspere Society, and the Spenser Society are examples of this type. The Library's friends will be pleased to learn that several such groups have come to us this last term. Of the publications of the Hunterian Club, which printed between 1875 and 1883 the works of Thomas Lodge, Patrick Hannay, Alexander Craig, Samuel Rowlands, and others, the Library recently acquired the complete set. A run of the Fuller Worthies' Library has brought us the writings of Andrew Marvell, Phineas Fletcher, Robert Southwell, and various others. Several volumes of the publications of the English Dialect Society have also taken their place on the shelves.

We are at the same time filling out our reference sets. No one knows what the future of the new edition of the British Museum Catalogue may be (at present it has reached only the letter B), but if it continues to be issued according to the original plans, we shall continue to receive it. It would be useful to have the older edition as well, which, though about fifty years old, at least includes all the alphabet; but we rejoice in what we have. Another welcome possession is the complete set (to date) of the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Now almost a small library in itself, it continues to grow by the issuance of new volumes, which keep us abreast of the contents of the great private English libraries. Similarly our files of the Early English Text Society and the Calendars of State Papers are steadily growing.

An incident which happened last May made me aware of the unexpected treasures to be found in the Library. On coming into the librarian's office one day, I was introduced to a visiting professor from a southern university, who was preparing a book on Philip Freneau and who had come to Rutgers to consult some manuscripts of that American poet. On inquiry, I learned that Rutgers has an extensive collection of manuscripts and association copies of Freneau's works. This visiting scholar had come to Rutgers to study the unique material which was to constitute a sizable share of his forthcoming book. When we possess such collections, we are providing the scholarly world with service of the finest quality and inciden-

tally emphasizing to the outside world our equipment for scholarly work.

I should like, before ending, to italicize a thesis which has been implicit in this article from the beginning. Theoretically, there should be no more necessity of arguing for the advantages of research and advanced study than there should be for the benefits of godliness and cleanliness. But precisely as numerous misguided messiahs keep announcing that this world can be saved only by astrology or some new-fangled cereal, so do the attackers of the academic citadel keep up a din which necessitates an occasional rebuke. Typical, though somewhat exaggerated, is the following pernicious expression of the obscurantist point of view with regard to the basic requirement for a professor of English composition:

> No Ph.D. and no intent to get it. The method of study, the sort of information acquired, the psychological effects (tension, introversion, distorted view of life and probably monocarpism) unfit one to teach freshmen and elementary composition.

It is not so much that there is no basis for such an indictment, as that the writer has no sense of proportion. If a Ph.D. ruins a prospective teacher, an A.M. must be at least poisonous, and an A.B. the equivalent of smallpox. The ideal teacher, if we follow this Rousseauistic philosophy to its logical end, is one who has never been hampered by any education whatsoever, and who therefore brings to the classroom the same stimulating freshness as a Fiji Islander. The thesis that research spoils teaching has just about the same force as the notion that advanced study spoils a pianist, that the reading of Department of Agriculture bulletins demoralizes a farmer, and that the study of government incapacitates a voter. An intelligent farmer might concede that too much sun or rain sometimes ruins crops, and still feel reluctant to protect himself by dispensing with them altogether. Constant study is the life-blood of a good teacher, and a growing library is the heart.

In this connection it may be worth remarking that there is a great difference among the various subjects in the college curriculum as to the number of books needed for scholarly purposes. In a field in which a considerable part of research is carried on in a laboratory, comparatively few books are needed.

The scientist seldom consults more than a few score books to perform an intricate and profound investigation. A comparatively small number of recent volumes and a file of standard journals will satisfy most of his needs. But the historian and the student of literature require a very large number of books for their investigations. They must have many old books, to which modern reprints, however useful, bear the same relation as that of a line of X's in a letter to a real kiss: they carry the same message but with less encouragement. The original edition is the only final authority. The literary or historical scholar, again, must browse through many volumes, picking a date here, a name there, and an allusion elsewhere. The library is his laboratory, and a university library must expect to pay at least double to provide him the necessary opportunity for his work that it spends on the scientist, since the scientist's expensive equipment and materials come from a different fund. If the soul of man is to be accorded as much nourishment as his body is given, this necessity must be fairly recognized by those who have the university's welfare at heart.

Though the last paragraphs may seem a digression, they are actually a vital part of this report. I have been stressing throughout the value of those books which will help to build up graduate work. We need, of course, hundreds of novels, plays, essays, and texts of various kinds for undergraduate work; and we shall continue to buy largely in this direction. But if we hope to do work of university caliber, we need a generous supply of books some of which may never be used by more than a few men. In recent years Rutgers has been growing steadily and laudably from the status of a small college to that of a university. To continue this advance, it must constantly grow in the stature of its faculty and in the resources of its library. "A good book," said Milton, "is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." If it is true, as Milton also said, that "he who destroys a good book kills reason itself," it should be equally true that he who adds a good book to the library performs an inestimable service.

J. Milton French

### *Art Reference Books*

Professor Franklin M. Biebel, of the Art Department, sends the following announcement:

"The art section of the University Library was greatly enriched this year through the gift of $500 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the purchase of needed art reference books. With this sum more than seventy volumes dealing with the history of art have been purchased. These include general histories of architecture, sculpture and painting, books on aesthetics, costume and design, and studies of individual artists.

"The Carnegie gift for art books was part of a larger gift of $2000 made to the Art Department of Rutgers University by the Carnegie Corporation, to enable it to acquire the Carnegie Art Reference Set of photographs and colored reproductions. This set, consisting of some 2,000 mounted photographs and 45 large color facsimiles, covers the entire history of art. It includes a portfolio of twenty-six original prints, illustrating the various processes of wood-cut, engraving, etching, and lithography, and contains original prints by such artists as Dürer, Goya, Millet, Corot, Whistler, and Matisse."

### *Associated Friends Gift*

When in the spring of 1938 the library of J. Lawrence Boggs came up for sale at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, the Associated Friends, acting through its Honorary President, Dr. Gabriel Wells, bought and presented to the Rutgers University Library a number of papers having to do with the Morris family of New Jersey. At that time it was impossible to acquire all the items that the Library felt it ought to have. Recently, however, three important manuscripts, which had been first purchased by others, again came on the market. This time the Associated Friends was able to appropriate $150 more to assist the Library to add these papers to its collection.

One of the new manuscripts is an agreement signed by Sir George Carteret, Proprietor of New Jersey, May 1, 1677, to encourage the production of iron in the province. A second paper, which is undated but which evidently was written in

the very early eighteenth century, is a petition to the King for Andrew Hamilton as governor of New Jersey, and is signed by Thomas Lane and Thomas Hart. The third item is a letter to Queen Ann by the General Assembly of New Jersey, requesting that the government of New Jersey be separated from that of New York. It is signed by Thomas Gordon, Speaker, June 10, 1709.

### *Gifts*

The Class of 1940 of the Graduate School of Banking continued the practice of preceding classes by generously presenting the sum of $1150 to the Library. This money is to be spent for the purchase of books on banking subjects.

Other very valuable and interesting gifts have been received from the following persons:

Charles S. Aitkin, '80
Dr. and Mrs. John A. Anderson
Barnet J. Beyer
Augustine W. Blair
Sigmund Brodsky
Samuel Engle Burr, '19
William H. Cole
M. Ethel Fair
Edward F. Johnson, '01
Rudolf Kirk
I. Robert Kriendler, '36
William H. F. Lamont
Millard L. Lowery
Walter T. Marvin
Herbert J. Metzger
Thomas J. Murray
Thurlow C. Nelson, '13
George A. Osborn, '97
Victor H. Paltsits
Remigio U. Pane, '38
Clarence E. Partch
Hubert Schmidt
Eugene L. Schwaab
Frank H. Stobaeus, '08
John P. Wall
Gabriel Wells
Ralph G. Wright

### *New Members*

Since the first of April the membership in the Associated Friends has increased to 366. The new names are here listed:

Julius Bloom, '33
J. Milton French
Frederick W. Hall, '28
Arthur F. Mabon, '90
Howard D. McKinney, '13
David Potter, '37
Mrs. Agnes Glen Saunders
Mrs. Helen S. Sperling
C. L. Traver
Helen L. Williamson
Julia B. Williamson
Nicholas Williamson, '02

# NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

## *RUTGERS STUDIES*

WILLIAM J. NORTON, JR. *Bishop Butler, Moralist and Divine.* New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1940. (Rutgers University Studies in Philosophy. Number One.) xi+336 pp.

PROFESSOR NORTON'S book is a thorough and painstaking digest and analysis of Bishop Butler's thought. The author tries to assemble all of Butler's scattered pronouncements into one coherent system of thought and to show that he was not merely a penetrating moralist, but also a Christian philosopher with a definite world-view in mind. Mr. Norton starts with an account of Butler's psychology which easily merges with his ethics as morality meant to him the following of human nature, properly understood. An empirical analysis of human nature starts with man's unconscious urges and appetites, rises to the principles of self-love and benevolence, and finally leads to its controlling centre: conscience, which, in Butler's view, is the mouthpiece of the entire self, the integrating principle of the mind of man. The self is thus conceived as a system, single and indivisible, developing towards an ideal pattern which is, however, never fulfilled in this life. Hence Butler argues in favor of immortality, in which the evolution of the self will continue in forms unknown to us. Butler, while rehearsing some of the Platonic arguments for immortality, stresses especially the fact that there is no evidence for the decay of the essential moral self simultaneously with the decay of physical powers.

The self can fulfill its functions only in society, which thus, in Butler's view, appears as man writ large. Society is the means with which we satisfy our impulses and appetites, but also our moral and religious aspirations. Society must be organised as a hierarchy parallel to the organization of the human mind. The nature and order of society is, in turn, closely bound up with the nature and order of the universe. Also the universe is a system of objects, which is progressively enriching itself in time, as is the individual mind and human society. The universe we know is a dynamic system constantly growing and changing. But beyond the visible universe, Butler assumes an invisible cosmos which includes also the generations of the dead continuing to exist in some sort of community. The universe thus appears as a spiritual system which is completely incomprehensible unless we assume its origins in the mind of a designer and a purpose in the wisdom of God. God's existence is demonstrated to Butler largely from the argument from design: the universe becomes intelligible only in the light of religion. Man has to fulfill the natural and moral law which governs the universe. Natural religion is thus the result of our meditation and observation: revealed religion merely confirms and supplements it. The voice of reason, the voice of conscience, and the voice of God, all speak the same language. Thus we

are back at our starting-point: Butler's analysis of the human mind. All this, according to Butler, has been established not by speculation, but by experience, by analogy and probability, and sometimes by an argument from consistency and coherence. Reason and moral judgment are thus intrinsically and inseparably joined. Butler appears not merely as an apologist for revelation nor as an advocate of the superrational voice of conscience, but as a consistent Christian philosopher whose every idea is in relation to all the others.

Professor Norton has done a signal service to the understanding of Butler's thought, by showing these interrelationships, by extracting the implicit meaning from scattered statements and by analyzing every idea inside of a coherent scheme abstracted from Butler's unsystematic writings, mostly sermons or polemics directed against the Deists. Mr. Norton has kept rigidly within these self-imposed limits: there is nothing biographical and very little historical matter in the book. With the exception of a few casual references to Locke and Shaftesbury, the Deists and Stoics, no attempt is made to define Butler's relationships to his predecessors and contemporaries. There are only a few references to later interpretations or corrections of misstatements. The bibliography of writings on Butler is meagre and does not include, for example, Leslie Stephen, Matthew Arnold or J. H. Newman. There is also very little criticism, except on a few minor points and in the last two pages of the book. There, it seems to me, Mr. Norton gives away, to a certain extent, his own main thesis by merely accepting Butler's analysis of conscience while declaring that Butler "has not satisfactorily maintained through probability and analogy that the congeries of observed and observable facts are systematically interrelated and grounded in the reality of a divine intelligence." (p. 323) Butler, to his mind, has not succeeded "in showing that the universe is ideal, spiritual, or theistic in its basis." (*Ibid.*) This may be so from a modern point of view, but, in terms of Butler's philosophical tradition, he has satisfied the demands of religious thought and has succeeded in erecting, as Professor Norton himself was the first to show in detail, a system of ethics which is in close relation to a religious, epistemological, and metaphysical teaching which makes his writings all of a piece and one of the finest expressions of the Anglican spirit.

With the exception of these remarks based on external criticism, Professor Norton's book is, in its exclusive attention to an internal analysis of Butler's thought, a remarkable example of purity in method. It is inevitable to compare his book, in this respect, with E. C. Mossner's *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* (New York, 1936) which approaches the same subject from the other side: Mossner's study sets Butler in his times and understands him largely in terms of the deist controversy, the contemporary debate about moral sense, reason, nature, and so forth, and sketches the history of Butler's reputation up to the present time. Mr. Norton almost ignores such questions quite intentionally. He can argue—and it seems to me with a great measure of jus-

tice—that the interpretation and criticism of an actual system of thought should always occupy the center of studies in the history of philosophy and precede any study of the background or influence of a philosopher. As it stands, *Bishop Butler, Moralist and Divine* is a highly significant addition to the illuminating studies, fortunately growing in number, devoted to a close inspection of the thought of an English philosopher: it should help to shift the stress from exclusive attention to the Locke-Berkeley-Hume succession to the great stream of Christian-Platonic thought of England.

René Wellek
*University of Iowa*

## *ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL AUTOGRAPH*

A short time ago Mr. John P. Wall enlarged the Library's collection of presidential autographs by presenting a letter which he had received from Woodrow Wilson during the latter's campaign for the governorship in 1910. This campaign represented Wilson's first dip into practical politics. Mr. Wall, as president of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Middlesex County, New Jersey, wrote to Mr. Wilson, then president of Princeton University, forwarding the congratulations of the Club on his nomination and pledging its support in the campaign. In the course of the letter Mr. Wall expressed the hope that before long the Club would have the opportunity to vote for Wilson "for a more exalted Presidency than that of Princeton." Under the date of September 17th, 1910, Mr. Wilson replied from the President's Room, Princeton University:

My dear Mr. Wall:

Allow me to thank you very heartily for your kind letter of September 15th. There is nothing I covet more than the support of the young men of the State, and I remember with appreciation your offer to do anything that can be done. So far I am inexperienced in the methods of campaigning.

Cordially and faithfully yours,
Woodrow Wilson

With this interesting letter Mr. Wall also presented a photograph which President Wilson gave him as "My fellow Jerseyman" on April 6, 1917, the day the United States declared war on Germany.

Perhaps inspired by the acquisition of this newest presidential autograph or perhaps by the general need to have a catalogue of its manuscripts, the Library has just listed all the documents of whatever kind bearing signatures of the presidents. Every president of the United States is represented from George Washington to Franklin D. Roosevelt, though by an odd chance the lone autograph of Andrew Johnson is only a rubber stamp, used while that president was suffering from a broken arm.

The Library's list begins well with a round dozen letters and documents bearing the signature of Washington; next come Wilson with ten, Theodore Roosevelt with eight, Grover Cleveland with five, and Martin Van Buren with four. The autographs of James Monroe, U. S. Grant, Benjamin Harrison, and William H. Taft are on three documents or letters, and those of James Madison, J. Q. Adams, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln,

James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, William McKinley, and Herbert Hoover are on two. Those presidents represented by only one signature each are John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, W. H. Harrison, John Tyler, James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, Rutherford B. Hayes, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

R. K.

## *NEW MAGAZINE FILES*

A PARTICULARLY valuable recent acquisition of the Library came through the purchase in a single lot of some 1500 bound volumes of British and American periodicals. Of these, 931 were found not to duplicate any in the Rutgers Library. Many of the volumes helped to fill up the gaps in existing files, and others added new and important titles to the periodical catalogue of the Library.

The dates of most of the volumes range through the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the preponderance between 1860 and 1880, but some date from the 1830's and 1840's. Among the literary and general magazines represented are several which are difficult now to find. Such, for example, is the London *Examiner* (the magazine started by Leigh Hunt in 1808) of which the Library acquired in this purchase most of the volumes between 1861 and 1881.

Another rare and interesting literary periodical in the group is *The Reader* (1863–66), which, during its brief existence, essayed to list all books and pamphlets published during the week besides reviewing the most important British and foreign books, and hence it constitutes a useful bibliographical reference work for those years. The famous critic and biographer of Milton, David Masson, was one of its editors, and it drew contributions from a distinguished staff, including Richard Garnett, Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown's School Days*), William M. Rossetti (brother of the poet), Leslie Stephen, Mrs. Gaskell, Charles Kingsley, and other well known men of letters of the time. *All the Year Around*, edited by Charles Dickens, is represented in this collection by scattered volumes between 1864 and 1868; and *Bentley's Miscellany*, to which Dickens contributed *Oliver Twist* as a serial in its earlier years, is here represented by several volumes in the 1860's.

Included also in this purchase were several important volumes of *Fraser's Magazine* (1853; 1860–61; 1863–69; new series, 1870–82), which in the 1830's had published much of Thackeray's and of Carlyle's early work (including *Sartor Resartus*). In the 1863 volume, acquired by the Library, appeared part of Ruskin's *Munera Pulveris*, which raised such a stir in its day because of its unorthodox views on political economy. Another literary storehouse in the collection is a file of *Longman's Magazine* from its beginning in 1882 to 1905, containing contributions from Austin Dobson, J. A. Froude, Thomas Hardy, William Dean Howells, John Burroughs, Andrew Lang, Bret Harte, Kipling, and many other literary men who achieved fame by the end of the nineteenth century.

Other magazines in the group of particular interest from a literary point of view are the *Metropolitan*

*Magazine* (1831–44), edited by the popular novelist of the sea, Captain Marryat; the *New Monthly Magazine* (volumes for 1860 to 1882), edited at various times earlier by Thomas Campbell, Bulwer-Lytton, Thomas Hood, and W. Harrison Ainsworth; *Belgravia* (1871–88); and almost a complete file of *Temple Bar* (1860–1905), which catered to the literary appetites of our grandfathers. L. A. M.

## *CONSCRIPTION*, 1776

IN THESE days of conscription we often forget that the draft in this country goes all the way back to Revolutionary days. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for August 14, 1776, published what is probably the earliest conscription act of the State of New Jersey. The text from the copy in the Library follows:

*In* CONVENTION *of the* STATE *of* NEW-JERSEY, *Brunswick, August* 3, 1776.

WHEREAS by the arrival of the enemy in the neighbourhood of this State, the burden is become much greater to the militia thereof, numbers being obliged to leave their families, and to march to the defence of their country; so that former ordinances for regulating the militia are become inadequate, it being highly just and equitable, proportionally to increase the sums formerly directed to be paid by those who refuse to BEAR ARMS for the protection of the State; and also to inflict greater punishments on those who although they have associated, or been directed to be enrolled for the defence of their country, yet neglect to attend on days appointed for mustering, and are unwilling, at this time of great danger, to step forth with their countrymen to oppose the enemies of freedom. It is therefore resolved and ordained, that all able bodied persons, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, who on any account, refuse to bear arms, do pay, as an equivalent for their actual service, the sum of Twenty Shillings proclamation money, monthly, and every month, during the present alarming time, and until proper measures shall be taken by the future legislature, to render the burden and expence equal to the inhabitants of this State; and that all persons directed to be enrolled by former ordinances, both officers and privates, who neglect to attend on days of muster, to pay double the sums directed by an ordinance of the late Congress, bearing date the 28th day of October 1775 . . .

*Resolved further*, That all persons between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, directed to be enrolled as aforesaid, who shall neglect to attend when called upon at the time of an alarm, or when ordered to meet in consequence of a requisition of the Deputies, Commander in Chief, or any of the Brigadier Generals of this State, for the purpose of raising levies for the army, or detaching part of the Militia for the defence of the States, or who shall refuse to march when detached in their proper turn, or to provide persons to march in their stead, do pay, if a Colonel, Twenty Pounds, a Lieutenant Colonel, Fifteen Pounds, a Major, Twelve Pounds, a Captain, Eight Pounds, a Lieutenant and Ensign, Six Pounds, non-commissioned officers and privates, Three Pounds, for every such neglect . . .

*Extract from the Minutes.*

WILLIAM PATTERSON,
*Secretary*

R. K.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY OF RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

THIS Association was founded on May 21, 1937, to maintain an organization of persons interested in books, to assist in bringing to the Library of Rutgers University funds for special needs beyond the command of the Library budget, to encourage gifts of books and manuscripts, and to cooperate with the Librarian and the Library Advisory Board in the development of the resources of the Library under the direction of the Library Committee of the Board of Trustees of Rutgers University.

MEMBERSHIP. Any person, business firm, or corporate body interested in the objects of the Association may become a member on application duly approved, or on invitation by the Executive Committee.

DUES. The annual dues shall be not less than $2.00. Members who wish to do so may elect to pay annual dues of larger amounts. Gifts of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, or other material needed by the Library may be accepted by the Executive Committee in place of dues. All members shall receive *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library* as issued.

MEETINGS. The meetings of the Association shall consist of an annual business meeting to be held at such time and place as shall be determined by the President, and such other meetings as the Executive Committee shall determine. Five members shall constitute a quorum sufficient for the transaction of business at any annual meeting.


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# The JOURNAL of the RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

June, 1940

VOLUME III NUMBER 2

# THE JOURNAL OF THE RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Published occasionally by the Associated Friends of the Library of Rutgers University
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS


Type Design, by Frederic W. Goudy . . . . . 49

The Lecompton Constitution, by L. Ethan Ellis . . . . . 57

Reviews of *Moby-Dick*, by David Potter . . . . . 62

The Milledoler Funeral, by Philip M. Brett . . . . . 66

The Associated Friends . . . . . 69

The Printing Anniversary Celebration, by Leslie A. Marchand . 72

Notes from the Library . . . . . 76

*De Re Metallica*, by Albert O. Hayes, p. 76; *Centenary of Soil Science*, by Selman A. Waksman, p. 77; *Deed of Hendrick Rutgers*, by W. H. S. Demarest, p. 79; *The Bucket*, by R. K., p. 80.


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Frederic W. Goudy

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The JOURNAL
OF THE RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Volume III JUNE, 1940 Number 2

# TYPE DESIGN

By Frederic W. Goudy

*The address below was delivered at Rutgers on March 19, the first in a series sponsored by the Associated Friends as part of the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of printing from movable type. The celebration was appropriately opened by Mr. Goudy, foremost American type designer, during the week that specimens of his own work were on exhibit in the Rutgers Library.*

In the printing craft in its larger aspect, it is life and nothing less with which we have to deal; it is life that you are called upon to foster and to mould, since printing moulds our minds, expands our vision and heaps up knowledge. Printing is one of the greatest means of promoting education, and education is not only one of the finest but one of the greatest of the arts; it is indeed the mother art, the alma mater of genius, the preceptress of intelligence and the foster parent of life.

For almost forty years I have preached the gospel of simplicity, of dignity, of legibility, of beauty, in types and typographical arrangement, and only now am I beginning to believe that my words so freely dispensed through the years, those arrows of typographic thought shot into the air—have not fallen to earth unnoticed or completely disregarded.

Stephen Vincent Benet, speaking of writing as a trade, makes what seems to me to be a significant statement, that "most of us begin by thinking we can do it all on *desire*, and are horribly disappointed when we fail." His statement applies equally to the matter of designing a type. In the case of writing, it would seem to be little more than carefully arranging a number of words on paper. But no, it is more than that, it requires one essential at least, an individual *creative* impulse.

When a man skillful with his hands produces things and talks with candor about his methods of work, he usually is worth listening to, but that he knows his work thoroughly does not necessarily qualify him to write or speak of it interestingly. There is still something else necessary besides technical knowledge and deftness in use of tools: there should be in him a logical sense, a feeling for the richness in words, an appreciation of their sounds, and their rhythmical sequence as well—and he must learn to write or speak intelligently of his work even as he learned his methods of work, by study and practise in the use of words.

The type designer by nature may be apt, but that fact will not of itself cause him to avoid anachronisms; he must know the history of letters, the development of type, what has been done by others, and possess too, an ability to seize upon the things in their work that he needs in his own—the quirks and turns that have caught his attention and fired his imagination, not, however, to copy them but to fuse them in the fire of his own thought into new type creations.

I do not consider myself a printer, nor even a typographer, although occasionally I do print, but I have studied assiduously the work of the great printers and of the great type designers of the past. I have studied them that I might pursue my own work intelligently, since I am no Heaven-born genius. Yet even a great genius does not trust entirely to the resources of his own mind. Just as a great composer borrows another's theme only to make it his own by the originality of his setting, so the great designer ransacks a thousand minds and uses the findings and wisdom of the ages to amplify and extend the boundaries of his own mental and artistic limitations. The genius who wisely recognizes precedent does not find it necessary to imitate his exemplars slavishly; he studies their achievements that he may add to his own store of ideas and he draws with independence from the most varied sources.

No art, no great printing, no great type ever developed by the rejections of the canons of good design found in the work of preceding generations. Style, distinction, originality have grown invariably out of a preceding style, not merely by taking thought but developing by gradual modification of older work to meet the changed conditions of a later time, the new work hardly betraying its origin.

As some of you already know, I am a designer of types. Now type design is a minor art, if it can be called an art at all; one thing, how-

ever, is certain: good type design may be practised only by an artist with peculiar capabilities, one of which is highly essential, the ability to discover beauty in abstract forms—the forms on which he lavishes his art, the shapes that have developed from the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt, that have evolved from the work of the ninth century scribes, and which now constitute the common medium of communication that recalls to us the wisdom of the past and preserves the knowledge of today for future generations. The shapes we call letters are now classic and we should not tamper with their essential forms unduly lest we compel readers to acquaint themselves with a new literary currency. The letter-norm, that is, the mere letter stripped of everything except its primitive and essential corpus, we may, if we have taste, and culture, and feeling, clothe and make presentable, more modest, not necessarily more useful, but better suited to the thought it is to convey. But alas! letter-norms may be badly clothed, and by that I mean the clothing that gives us the tawdry, the bizarre, the fanciful atrocities—I had almost said "monstrosities"—so often seen; their use disturbs my sense of fitness and actually decreases their usefulness in my eyes.

The types intended for fine printing, in the main, are not different in form from those intended specifically for commerce; the difference lies more in the handling of them, and the commercial printer will do well to avoid any effort toward pseudo-estheticism; he should attempt rather to present printing with its own proper goodness for the purposes intended, studiously plain and starkly efficient. Printing for commerce, to be good, requires the types and the handling of them to be free from studied exuberance and fancy. When printing for industry is too elaborate or too fanciful it becomes inexcusable; the greater is its vulgarity of display, the more distasteful it appears, and its impertinent indecency I find almost nauseating.

There was a time in the golden age of type design when a page decoration, a head-piece, a fleuron, or a new type face might prove a key to typographic distinction because it was recognized as the work of a master and respected accordingly. But by this I do not imply that deference must necessarily be given to old types or old work of little merit merely because they are old. Many of them unfortunately possess shortcomings even as those of later vintage. Yet, even the best of old types should not be revived, imitated, adapted, reproduced or copied for

present day use, with camera-like fidelity, prima facie evidence of modern poverty of invention (or artistic or mental laziness). The originals had matchless charm because they were stamped with the personality of their makers; the reproductions invariably lack the spirit of idealism of the originators and cannot fail to betray the fact that the faker can never do entire justice to the distinctive qualities that made the original designs great. My own feeling regarding the endless reviving of old type is the same feeling I have toward dead and living art—or toward dead and living literature—the new type built on old forms never transcends them and is always imitative, never moving with spontaneous energy that is indicative of freshness and originality.

The inexperienced designer says to himself, "I will design a new type." He does not as yet realize that just as a painter wishing to paint a tree must also imagine a sky or a background against which to see it standing, the designer, too, cannot imagine a type unless he imagines also its use and destination. He must have visions whose power is his power. He must treat what is logical as if it were a miracle; yet as a matter of fact what he is attempting to give new form to is something which has long been in the background of his mind, perhaps without his being conscious of the fact, and what he has studied in the past work of the great masters of type and printing, he has now only to recall and give form to as something which already is there.

And now a few words about fine printing in its relation to fine literature. Fine literature, being permanent, demands a dignified and beautiful typographical setting, a setting that will preserve the author's words in monumental form suited to their worth. Printing may be adequate and entirely satisfactory for commercial necessities; yet even that printing on which the craftsman has exercised more than usual thought and care for technical requirements, or upon which elaborate details have been lavished, may, after all, be merely good printing; fine printing requires even more than the points I mention: for it, type, decoration, and proportion of page should be appropriate to the subject treated; its destination and its purpose should receive equally the craftsman's most scrupulous and fastidious attention. In that printing where the types are correctly chosen and their arrangement good; the capitals harmonious and suited to the type and the text; the paper pleasing to the eye in tone, pliable to the hand, its surface kind to the types and unobtrusive

as to wire-marks, and the presswork admirable, the final result may be altogether charming and even yet not fine, in the sense that a work of art is fine. Printing to be fine and not merely charming must include a beauty of proportion whereon the trained taste finds ever an appeal to delight; a beauty of form and rhythm in consonance, showing the control of the craftsman over every detail of the work, a well proportioned leaf whereon the type has been handsomely placed, the lines well spaced, the decorations harmonious (no detail pretending or seeming to be more important than the thing adorned), and of like origin with the types, cut with like tools, and with similar strokes. Fine printing, too, is simple in arrangement, not the simplicity gained by pretending simplicity, but rather the result of simple thinking; the work must be fundamentally beautiful by force of the typography itself, its beauty organic and a development of its construction; it must be done on a fine type, and it *must have style*, the living expression controlling both the form and structure of the vehicle which reveals and preserves the author's words. Printing becomes only then an art, a means even to higher aims and higher ideals.

I have spoken of a fine type in the foregoing summing up—I am tempted to repeat what I have said so often regarding the type I regard as "fine":

Type to be fine must be legible, not merely readable, but pleasantly and easily legible; decorative in form, but not ornate; beautiful in itself and in company of its kinsman in the font; austere and formal, but with no stale or uninteresting regularity in its dissimilar characters; simple in design, but not the bastard simplicity that is mere crudity of outline, elegant, that is, gracious in line; fluid in form, but not archaic; and above all it must possess unmistakably the quality called "art," which is the spirit the designer puts into the body of his work, the product of his study and of his taste.

How many of the types demanded by the advertisers or their typographic advisers will permit an analysis of this sort? Many types employed today in the attempt to make the work for which they are employed appear better than it is, that is, to give the manner of a fine book to mere advertising or commercial work are to me nauseating. Advertising is one thing, and bookmaking is another; each should have its own treatment.

But now to get back to my own method of thought regarding a type face. When a designer of type faces attempts to tell others what his ideas are regarding his craft, he ought to make very clear at the outset that he speaks only of what he, himself, considers a type's good qualities to be. What he says is his personal opinion and he should not lay down dogmatic rules for others. If he is a designer of established standing, I believe he invariably regards type as something made primarily to be read and not as something made merely to exhibit the craft and skill of its creator. His ideal of merit is not necessarily that of mechanical precision or of exact finish. Yet, easy reading should not be the ultimate aim entirely; type should be pleasantly readable also; and at this point, opinions of readers, printers, and type designers begin to diverge as to what constitutes legibility, beauty, and those other qualities, which I, personally, demand, the qualities of simplicity, dignity, and style.

There is no mystery in type design. It is so easy that I am surprised that more people do not take it up as a profession, unless, it may be, the returns are usually inadequate to attract artists of ability. For myself I have found it a pleasant road at times toward dignified starvation.

A young man wrote to the Chicago *Tribune* asking what he should do to become a first-class proof-reader and received this reply: To become a first-class proof-reader is a very easy task—so easy that the wonder is that more young people don't take it up instead of clerking. The first step is to serve an apprenticeship at printing which will enable the student to discern typographical irregularities. A general acquaintanceship with history, biography, poetry, fiction, music, geography, the drama, and other branches of learning is important. Politics should have attention, for you must be able to identify every man who has followed the business from Cain down to the present. No matter whether he is the Premier of England, or the Caliph of Bagdad, or a celebrated prize-fighter, you must have a minute knowledge of his public and private life and be able to select the proper spelling from the half-dozen forms the author is sure to employ. Read, ponder, and assimilate Webster, the Bible, Shakespeare, Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Roget's Thesaurus, Lippincott's Gazetteer, the encyclopedias of Zell, Appleton, and others. During the long winter evenings take up a few languages—say Greek, Latin, French, Russian, German, Chinese, and Choctaw.

In the same way one wishing to begin as a type designer need only to interest himself in the beginning of the alphabet, starting with the hieroglyphs of Egypt and coming down to the best work of the mediaeval scribes, and in the invention of typography; to recognize the great type faces of Jenson, Garamond, Fournier, Bodoni, Caslon, Baskerville, et al.; to know the great periods of printing in Germany, Italy, England, France, Holland, and so forth. And then, if he has the ability to draw lines of vigor, instinct with delicacy, refinement, and life, a feeling for design and good tradition, good taste and a sense of practicality, imagination, and a few other like odds and ends, he is ready to begin. All that remains is a commission to design type—ah! there is the rub. It is much easier to make a type than it is to sell it.

The late Col. Ingraham, probably one of the most prolific writers of the stirring dime novels of the 70's and 80's when asked how he wrote so many, replied that it was "quite easy." To illustrate he said, "crack, crack, crack and three red skins bit the dust—and then you go on from there." In the same way the making of a type design is quite easy. The materials for the new design are simple: pencil, paper, and ink are cheap; then one has only to think of a letter and draw around the thought—and then you go on from there. The great difficulty lies in thinking of 25 other letters to go with it in complete harmony, to make each seem to be the kin of every other in the font and of all. If the designer has studied his letters, if he has imagination, if he has taste, if he has a feeling for line, proportion, rhythm, he may make an acceptable design, but even then, too often it may prove not all that is wanted.

A good type, I regret, is not the result of a mere desire to design one. It is difficult to visualize a large drawing as actual type, and while experience helps, it does not always insure success. Many of my drawings never see the light of day, since like the doctors, I can bury my own mistakes.

If only there were some definite and positive item that one might introduce into a design that would ensure its legibility or beauty. These qualities, alas, are more often the result of accident than of deliberate and conscious effort, and I speak with the experience of years and over a hundred types to my credit as a basis for the statement. If such qualities could be introduced simply by taking thought, there would be fewer bad types, since who would be so foolish as to draw any not good?

I hope that in these rambling remarks will be found here and there grains of thought among the chaff; and that what I have said may not fall entirely on deaf ears. I realize that I have little facility of expression; yet my words are not those of an esthetic theorist, they are the conclusions of a practical craftsman—practical in the sense that with my own hands, from blank paper to printed page I perform every detail of my work, and the principles presented here are those that guide me in my work. I endeavor by precept and example to bring about a greater public interest in good typography, to arouse a more general esteem for better types, and I have never intentionally permitted myself to utilize the message I was attempting to present as a mere framework upon which to exploit my own work, nor even to allow my handicraft to become an end in itself instead of a means to a desirable and useful end.

I have seen somewhere a statement by William Morris that appeals to me as one of especial significance. I am continually coming upon sayings of his that appeal to me, just as Emerson was constantly coming upon sentences in the works of Bacon which were "like doors suddenly opening upon some endless vista of the mind." Morris's sentences present craft and craftmanship to me with new force.

Morris said, in substance, "Men whose hands were skilled in fashioning things could not help thinking while they worked, and they soon found that deft fingers unconsciously would express some part of the tangle of their thoughts in the work they were doing—that in doing so, they had conquered somewhat the curse of mere toil. Their own thoughts and the thoughts of men long gone guide their hands—and they create."

As I work, I like to think of the potentialities of the sculptured abstractions which grow under my hand, that each letter with its kinsman in the future font will enable the poet to put into tangible and visible form the fine frenzy of his mind, will preserve the hived honey of the departed genius, and present the happenings of today that those who follow may picture accurately what otherwise might be lost forever.

# THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

By L. Ethan Ellis

*For two generations the Lecompton Constitution has lain hidden from the public eye in a Rutgers safe. Recently Dr. Ellis has sought out the history of this famous document, and he here tells its story. Dr. Ellis is the author of* A History of the Chicago Delegation in Congress, 1843–1925 *and of many articles in professional magazines. His most recent book is* Reciprocity 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations, *published by the Yale University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*

Kansas in the eighteen-fifties was a chessboard on which were made many of the important moves leading to the Civil War. Opened by the ill-starred Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 to the operation of the principle of Popular Sovereignty, the territory attracted aggressive supporters and opponents of slavery.[1] The Emigrant Aid Society, motivated by an anti-slavery urge combined with a canny New England desire to make money on land speculation, sent settlers, and its members sent Sharps rifles in boxes labelled "books."[2] Southerners came in smaller numbers despite repeated urgings.[3] This lack of numbers was for a time compensated by the convenient proximity of slave-owning Missourians, honestly fearful of the establishment of a free state on their borders, which would leave their twenty-five million dollars' worth of slave property surrounded on three sides by free territory.[4] These honest patriots (or Border Ruffians) flocked promptly into Kansas during the controversy's early stages and cast any number of ballots requisite to turn elections for the pro-slavery party.

The first two of these elections, one for a territorial delegate to Congress and the other for a legislature, were carried for slavery by combi-

[1] General narrative accounts of the Kansas troubles will be found in McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (8 vol., New York, 1883ff.), vol. 8; Rhodes, J. F., *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896* (8 vol., New York, 1893ff.), vol. 2; and Spring, L. W., *Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union*, Boston, 1885.

[2] Johnson, S. A., "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 1, 429–441.

[3] Lynch, W. O., "Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Extra Number, May, 1919, 380–392.

[4] Klem, Mary J., "Missouri in the Kansas Struggle," *Ibid.*, 393–413.

nation of Missouri intervention and free-soil indifference. By 1855, however, the free-soilers began to organize and in October met and framed the Topeka Constitution, ratified in December at an election from which the advocates of slavery held aloof. The Constitution was presented to Congress in March, 1856, with the request that Kansas be admitted under it as a free state. This year saw increasing friction in Congress and country over the Kansas issue. Senator Charles Sumner's "Crime Against Kansas" speech in May, followed by the brutal assault upon him by Preston Brooks, high-lighted a bitter and lengthy congressional debate. In Kansas itself the preceding lack of friction was dissipated into acts of violence on both sides which attained the level of a local war. Against this background a free-soil legislature, elected in January, 1856, met at Topeka in July. In October another pro-slavery legislature was elected; again the free-soilers absented themselves. This body designated June 15, 1857, for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. Again the free-soilers stayed at home and a minority of the voters chose the delegates.

These facts form the setting of the convention which, meeting at Lecompton from September 7 to 11, adjourned until October 19 and completed its work on November 7. It was through the medium of the constitution here drafted that the pro-slavery elements sought first to commit Kansas to slavery, and then to secure the erection of Kansas into a slave state without giving the people of the territory a true opportunity to vote on the merits of that institution.

The engrossed draft of the Lecompton Constitution is now in the custody of the Rutgers University Library. It will be the object of the ensuing paragraphs to piece together, from such material as is available, first, some brief account of events in the convention itself, and second, the way in which the document came to the Library.

Events were demonstrating, during the course of 1857, that the anti-slavery cause was on the make in Kansas. Since a territorial legislature was scheduled to be elected in October, the Lecompton Convention remained in session but five days in September—long enough to organize and place in the presiding officer's chair John Calhoun, Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska, a Bostonian born, who settled in Illinois, where he had helped Abraham Lincoln to learn surveying. Calhoun had become a Douglas Democrat, and through this connection secured his posi-

tion in Kansas.[5] Organization accomplished, the convention took an adjournment to await the results of the October election. When the returns indicated a free-soil legislature, it became apparent that the convention might provide the last opportunity for establishing slavery in Kansas. Under these circumstances procedural methods become of major significance in the development of events.[6] The first step bearing upon the present story was taken in the adoption, October 30, of the following preamble to the report of the Committee on Slavery: "The right of property is before and higher than any Constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same, and as inviolable as the right of the owner to any property whatever." A later provision prevented the amendment of the new Constitution prior to 1864 and by holding that in such amendment "no alteration shall be made to affect the rights of property in the ownership of slaves," attempted to fasten slavery permanently upon Kansas.

There remained one more problem—how to secure the Constitution's ratification with this slavery-guarantee, in the face of the undoubted free-soil popular majority? The evidence available to the writer is insufficient to speak with finality upon the sequence of events. The crucial pages of the convention's *Journal* are missing from the printed record and the principal account accessible is obviously inaccurate in details and subject to the bias of political partisanship. It is found in the testimony before the Covode Committee, in May of 1860, of Henry L. Martin, a clerk in the Interior Department, who went to Kansas at the behest of Secretary Jacob Thompson—officially to transact business connected with the Land Office at Lecompton; actually to do what he could to influence the course of events in the convention. With these reservations, the story as Martin recounted it is as follows.[7]

The pro-slavery convention divided sharply on the question of whether or not its work should be submitted to the risk of a popular vote in an area now obviously free-soil. The conservative wing, realizing the likelihood of defeat, still advocated submission. This was because they feared that if a pro-slavery Constitution were presented to

[5] *Dictionary of American Biography* (21 vol., New York, 1928–1937), 3, 410–411.

[6] *House Report* 377, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., 23–73, contains the *Journal* of the convention through November 3, but lacks the account of the crucial events to be described below. The Constitution itself is printed in *Ibid.*, 73–92. Quotations in this sketch are taken direct from the document.

[7] *House Report* 648, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 93–325, contains much Lecompton material.

Congress without a referendum, that body would reject it; they feared that the Southern states would consider this an attack upon slavery and would make it the signal for disunion moves. Accordingly, Martin worked with Calhoun and other leaders, in caucuses and on the floor, in favor of submission. The matter was taken up in a crucial report of the Committee on Schedule, headed by Hugh M. Moore and mainly favorable to submission. The majority reported in favor of submission but Blake Little in a minority report proposed sending the completed Constitution direct to Congress with a request for statehood. Bitter argument and complicated parliamentary juggling produced the plan finally adopted.

This well-known device (contained in Section 7 of the Schedule) called for an election December 21, 1857, at which the ballots should be marked "Constitution with slavery" and "Constitution with no slavery." If the second alternative triumphed, "then the article providing for slavery shall be stricken from this Constitution by the President of this Convention, and slavery shall no longer exist in the State of Kansas, *except that the right of property in slaves now in this Territory shall, in no manner, be interfered with. . . .*" [writer's italics]. This gave the voters a chance to restrict the future advance of slavery in Kansas, but it effectively remanded the two or three hundred slaves already in the territory, and their descendants, to perpetual servitude; furthermore, it forestalled the intention of the free-soilers to defeat the Constitution at the ballot-box by offering them *the Constitution*, with or without slavery—a document which perpetuated the existing slavery in Kansas. This compromise proposal passed the convention by a majority of three. The election was held in due course, the free-soilers stayed at home, and Calhoun duly announced a smashing victory for the Constitution with slavery. By January 4, 1858, the free-soil legislature submitted the whole Constitution to a referendum in which it was roundly defeated. Before this last act, however, party strategy had dictated removal of the question to the national arena and Lecompton passes off the local stage even as pro-slavery influence was declining in Kansas.

The records available show that the written Constitution adopted at Lecompton came into the custody of the Rutgers University Library through presentation of the document to the New Brunswick Historical Club in the autumn of 1875. The donor was Col. Alfred W. Jones, who had gone to Kansas in 1855 commanding a company of colonists from

Petersburg, Virginia.[8] He later became editor of *The Lecompton Union and National Democrat*, and by his own testimony shortly receded from his extreme pro-Southern attitude, becoming what he himself defined as a "pro-slavery conservative." He was a delegate to the Lecompton Convention, representing Douglass County. The circumstances of his translation to New Jersey are not clear, but he appears with Henry Farmer as the editorial partner in the revival of the *Middlesex County Democrat* (Perth Amboy), issued first under date of May 23, 1868.[9] In November of this year he was elected to the State Assembly from the Second District of Middlesex County,[10] and in April, 1876, launched at Woodbridge, New Jersey, *The Independent Hour*, which continued under his auspices until the summer of 1879.[11]

No evidence which has come to hand indicates how he gained possession of the document under discussion. A letter in the *Minute Book of the New Brunswick Historical Club*, written from Woodbridge, October 29, 1875, accepts a previously-tendered invitation to address the organization. In it he presents to the Club "the original engrossed copy, enacting a State Constitution for Kansas Territory; being the widely known, veritable 'Lecompton Constitution.' . . ." He goes on to request that if "the New Brunswick Historical Club, should ever become dissolved, or inoperative, for any cause, I ask the privilege of having this parchment filed in the archives of Rutgers College. . . ."

The document itself is inscribed on eight sheets of parchment, each approximately twenty-three and one-half by twenty-seven and one-fourth inches in size, the writing, now somewhat faded, but still sufficiently legible to indicate that the printed versions show only modifications of punctuation from the original draft. The concluding page bears the signatures of Calhoun (a delegate from Douglass County, as was Col. Jones), Charles H. McIlvaine, Secretary, and of forty-four delegates representing fifteen counties. It constitutes an interesting memento of some historical importance, commemorating one of the tactical moves in the contest of sectional maneuver which presently dissolved into the clash of arms.

[8] Craik, E. L., "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854–1858," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919–1922*, vol. 15, 334–450; *The New Brunswick Daily Fredonian*, November 5, 1875.

[9] MS *Minute Books of the New Jersey Editorial Association*, 1, 104.

[10] *Daily Fredonian*, November 4, 5, 7, 1868.

[11] *New Brunswick Daily Times*, April 17, 1876; *Daily Fredonian*, July 14, 1879.

# REVIEWS OF *MOBY-DICK*

By David Potter

*The following article, which is based on an examination of magazine files in the Rutgers Library, helps to correct the popular misconception that* Moby-Dick *was not well received when it was first published. Mr. Potter, a true Melville enthusiast, graduated from Rutgers in 1937 and immediately afterward joined the staff of the University as an instructor of Public Speaking.*

Despite the number of articles and volumes written about Herman Melville and *Moby-Dick*, the general reading public, including many "Melvillites," has long fostered the unfounded, but remarkably persistent, belief that Melville's novels and, especially *Moby-Dick*, were unfavorably received by the American public. While working through some old American periodicals in the Rutgers University Library, I recently came across several hitherto neglected reviews of *Moby-Dick* which shed further light on the researches initiated by Anderson, Hetherington, and Thorp.[1] But before examining the contents of these reviews, let us consider the American reputation of Melville up to 1851.

When *Moby-Dick* was published in London and New York in October, 1851, Herman Melville was riding on the crest of a tremendous literary popularity. *Typee*[2] (1846) and *Omoo*[3] (1847) had been instantaneous successes, accepted by the vast majority of contemporary American magazine critics as truthful and beautifully written accounts of exciting adventure. Not even the philippics against Melville of G. W. Peck of the changeable *American Whig Review*, and the earnest denunciations from the clerical *New Englander* and the equally zealous *New York Evangelist* could dim their great popularity. Even the religious press,

[1] Anderson, Charles Roberts, "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*," *American Literature*, IX (March, 1937), 1–25; Hetherington, Hugh W., *The Reputation of Herman Melville in America*, an unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1933; Thorp, Willard, *Herman Melville: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*, New York: American Book Company, 1938.

[2] Hitherto unmentioned reviews of *Typee* found in the Rutgers University Library include: *American Whig Review*, X (August, 1849), 218; *Biblical Repository and Classical Review*, V (October, 1849), 754; *Debow's Commercial Review of the South and West*, VII (November, 1849), 465; *Littell's Living Age*, IX (April 11, 1846), 82–93; *New York Illustrated Magazine*, I (April, 1846), 380.

[3] Hitherto unmentioned reviews of *Omoo* include: *Debow's Commercial Review of the South and West*, III (June, 1847), 586; *Eclectic Magazine*, XI (July, 1847), 408–419; *Literary World*, I (April 24, 1847), 274–275.

which had so roundly scored the original edition of *Typee* for its alleged immorality and inaccuracy and for its vicious attack on the Protestant missions, received the expurgated *Typee* with warm praise. *Mardi*[4] (1849) also was greeted during the first few months of its sale with glowing reviews, which, one must admit, were not very penetrating. But as 1849 wore on, the reviews of *Mardi* became increasingly hostile. Its allegory and symbolism apparently presented increasingly irritating problems to a reading public which seemed to insist that everything Melville wrote be in the simple and understandable pattern of *Typee* and *Omoo*. The appearance of *Redburn*[5] four months later temporarily saved the day for Melville's American reputation. Except for the *Southern Quarterly Review*, all the reviews of this book which I have been able to find were favorable, the great majority joyfully welcoming it as a deservedly popular addition to Melville's earlier successes. *White-Jacket*[6] (1850) called forth even more widespread acclaim. The clerical and secular journals united in praising its humanitarian motive and its spirited composition, and many critics went so far as to claim for Melville the position of an "American Defoe."

Most book reviewers in the important contemporary American periodicals were favorably impressed by Melville's masterpiece, *Moby-Dick*, when it appeared in 1851. Few of the critics, to be sure, grasped the greatness and significance our present generation attaches to the book, and, unfortunately, the hostility incurred in some quarters by touches of "irreverence" in *Typee*, *Omoo*, and *Mardi* became magnified by the tone of *Moby-Dick*. The elaborate style first employed in *Mardi* also caused much adverse criticism, while even the loyal Duyckincks suspected more than a taint of Carlyle's "unholy" influence in Melville's latest work. Despite these increasingly numerous objections to Melville's style,

[4] Hitherto unmentioned reviews of *Mardi* include: *Eclectic Magazine*, XVII (May, 1849), 144; *Godey's Magazine And Lady's Book*, XXXVIII (June, 1849), 436; XL (January, 1850), 78; *Literary World*, IV (June 16, 1849), 519; V (August 4, 1849), 89–90; V (August 11, 1849), 101–103; *Littell's Living Age*, XXI (April 28, 1849), 184–186.

[5] Hitherto unmentioned reviews of *Redburn* include: *Albion*, VIII (November 17, 1849), 545–546; *Godey's Magazine And Lady's Book*, XL (February, 1850), 149; *Literary World*, V (August 4, 1849), 92.

[6] Hitherto unmentioned reviews of *White-Jacket* include: *Albion*, IX (March 2, 1850), 99–100; *Biblical Repository and Classical Review*, VI (July, 1850), 561; *Debow's Commercial Review of the South and West*, VIII (June, 1850), 590; *Godey's Magazine And Lady's Book*, XL (June, 1850), 418; *Home Journal*, April, 1850.

philosophy, and irreverence, *Moby-Dick* still retained for Melville much of the popular favor his earlier works had won for him.[7]

The early popularity of *Moby-Dick* was testified to by the *Home Journal* in the following review:

> If we mistake not, the author of "Typee" and "White Jacket," conscious of the vivid expectation excited in the reading public by his previous books, resolved to combine in the present all his popular characteristics, and so fully justify his fame . . . The result is a very racy, spirited, curious and entertaining book, which affords quite an amount of information, excites the sympathies, and often charms the fancy.[8]

*Godey's Magazine And Lady's Book* hailed *Moby-Dick* as a "perfect literary whale, and worthy of the pen of Herman Melville, whose reputation as an original writer has been established the world over."[9] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, in a review no more penetrating than the *Home Journal's*, found *Moby-Dick* to be "an agreeable and entertaining volume" though "in some parts it may be rather diffuse."[10] The *Eclectic Magazine* also praised *Moby-Dick*:

> Mr. Melville's new work, Moby-Dick, published by the *Harpers* . . . gets a severe handling in the *Athenaeum*—not with its accustomed candor, as it seems to us. Faulty as the book may be, it bears the marks of such unquestionable genius, and displays graphic powers of so rare an order, that it cannot fail to add to the popular author's reputation.[11]

Even more enthusiastic than the *Eclectic Magazine* in its welcome of Melville's masterpiece, and far more acute, was *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Not only did it publish the most appreciative contemporary American review of *Moby-Dick* in December, 1851, but also in the following April it reprinted with evident patriotic pride the following comment of the *London Leader*:

> . . . Want of originality has long been the just and standing reproach to American literature; the best of its writers were but second-hand Englishmen. Of late some have given evidence of originality; not *absolute* originality but such genuine outcoming of the American intellect as can be safely called national. Edgar Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville are assuredly no British offshoots; nor is Emerson—the *German* American that he is! . . . To move a horror skillfully, with something of the

[7] These conclusions are based upon material presented in my master's thesis, *American Magazine Opinion of Herman Melville From 1846 Through 1852*, Rutgers University, 1939.

[8] *Home Journal*, VII (November 29, 1851), 4.

[9] *Godey's Magazine And Lady's Book*, XLIV (February, 1852), 166.

[10] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXVI (January, 1852), 140.

[11] *Eclectic Magazine*, XXIV (December, 1851), 572.

earnest faith in the Unseen, and with weird imagery to shape these phantasms so vividly that the most incredulous mind is hushed, absorbed—to do this no European pen has apparently any longer the power—to do this American literature is without a rival. What *romance* writer can be named with HAWTHORNE? Who knows the horrors of the seas like HERMAN MELVILLE?[12]

The high regard shown Melville and *Moby-Dick* in these reviews dispels any notion that the author and his masterpiece were completely ignored by contemporary American critics. Instead, we find that Melville in the early months of 1852 was a highly respected and widely reviewed man of letters. To be sure, the "diffuseness" noticed in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* was re-echoed more forcibly by other less friendly critics, and the "faults" admitted by the *Eclectic Magazine* were multiplied and listed in other periodicals. All in all, however, the contemporary American magazine estimate of Melville and *Moby-Dick* from 1851 through the opening months of 1852 may be summarized in the following review reprinted by *Littell's Living Age* from the *New York Courier*:

No American writer is more sure, at every reappearance, of a more cheerful welcome than the author of Typee. His purity and freshness of style and exquisite tact in imparting vividness and lifelikeness to his sketches long since gained him hosts of admirers on both sides of the water. This book has all the attractiveness of any of its predecessors; in truth, it possesses more of a witching interest, since the author's fancy has taken in it a wilder play than ever before. It is ostensibly taken up with whales and whalers, but a vast variety of characters and subjects figure in it, all set off with an artistic effect that irresistibly captivates the attention. The author writes with the gusto of true genius, and it must be a torpid spirit indeed that is not enlivened with the raciness of his humor and the redolence of his imagination.[13]

[12] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, IV (April, 1852), 711.
[13] *Littell's Living Age*, XXXII (January 17, 1852), 130.

# THE MILLEDOLER FUNERAL

By Philip M. Brett

*Probably only a very few persons who use the Library have noticed the picture of the Milledoler Funeral, but those few who have found it, hanging outside Mr. Osborn's office, have paused many times to meditate this curious reminder of the conventions of the mid-nineteenth century. Its history would have been quite forgotten had not the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Brett, when an old man, remembered the scene and written an account of it for posterity to read. Dr. Brett's son, Mr. Philip M. Brett, of the Class of 1892, a Trustee of Rutgers, retells the story.*

Hanging in the walls of the University Library there is a painting which has always aroused curiosity. It is a water color depicting a funeral ceremony in a crowded church, draped in black, with two coffins in front of the pulpit. Over the pulpit hangs the coat of arms of the Reformed Dutch Church of America.

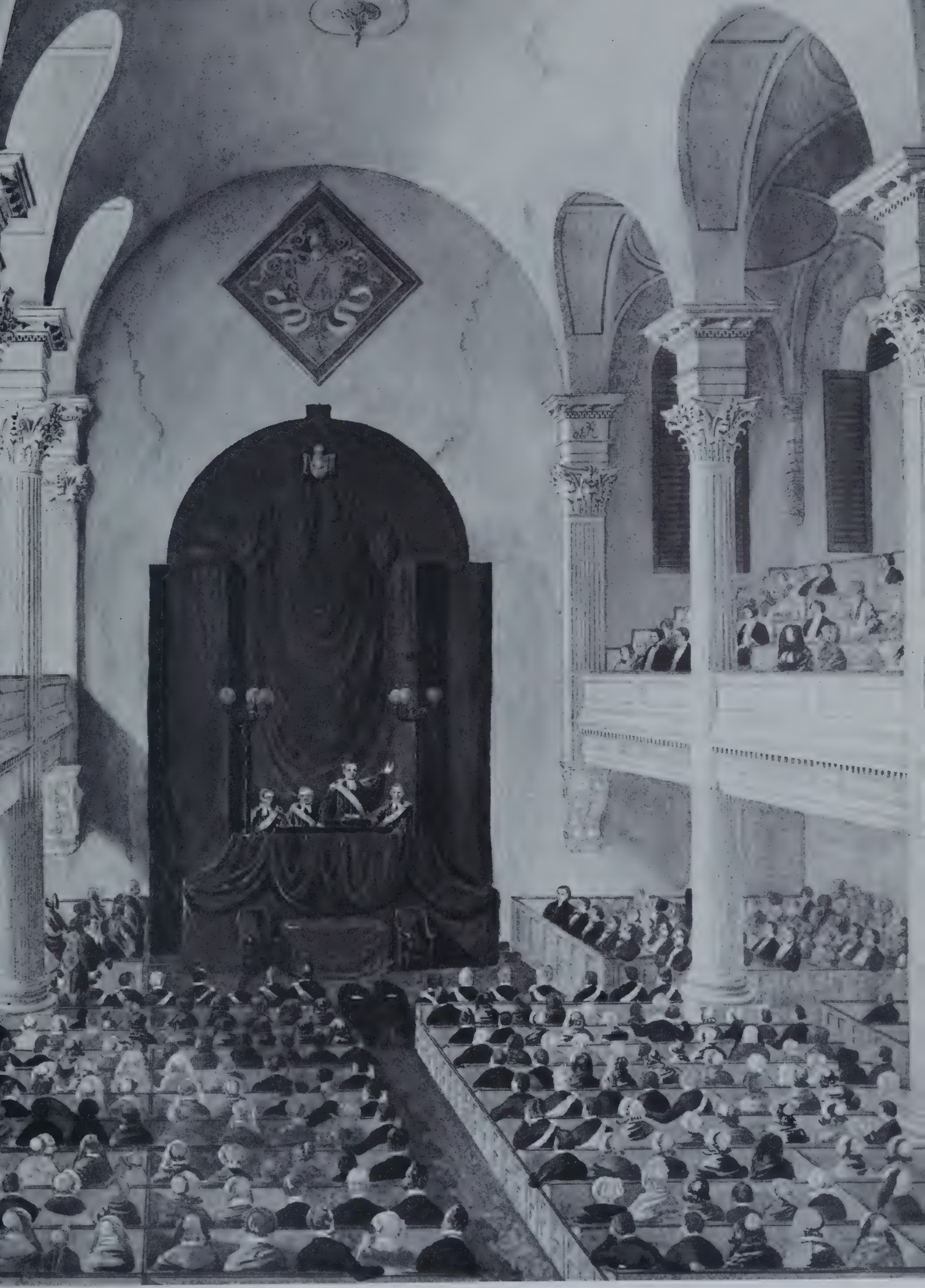
For many years the existence of this picture was unknown. Dr. W. H. S. Demarest, while President of Rutgers, discovered it tucked away in a neglected corner of Old Queens. After the picture was cleaned, a silver plate appeared on the frame bearing the inscription:

"Funeral Ceremony
Reverend Philip Milledoler, D.D., LL.D., late
President of Rutgers College, and his wife,
Margaret S. Milledoler, September 26, 1852,
North Reformed Protst. Dutch Church, New York."

No one knows the history of the picture; by whom it was painted or by whose order it was so carefully framed and marked, no one living is now able to tell.

During the Centennial of Old Queens, this picture was hung on the walls of the Chapel as part of an exhibit of interesting prints and documents relating to Rutgers. It was there seen by my father, the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Brett, a great grandson of Dr. Philip Milledoler, who was probably the only person then living who had attended the funeral ceremony. He prepared and has left us his memory of the services and an explanatory description of the picture:

Of the throng gathered in the Church, few survivors remain. The picture seems to be a water color sketch; it must have been prepared by an artist of remarkable skill.



The Milledoler Funeral

There were no photographs made at that time and the whole sketch must have been made by the pencil and brush. The dignified architecture of the Church with its Corinthian pillars is delineated with perfect lines, and the miniature portraits of the officiating clergy are recognizable. The arrangement of the congregation must have been made partly from memory and partly from general knowledge of the costume of the day.

As the artistic composition contains so many figures, it is a remarkable picture. The only possible persons or organizations who would have been likely to give an order for such a picture are the Collegiate Consistory of New York City, the family of Dr. Milledoler, or the Trustees of Rutgers College. If it had been ordered by the Church, it would have remained in New York and hung among the portraits of former pastors. If the family had ordered it, it would have remained in one of their homes. I do not know that the Minute Books of the Trustees contain any reference to the picture.

The Rev. Dr. Philip Milledoler, and his second wife, Margaret Steele, died at the home of their daughter, Mrs. James W. Beekman, on Staten Island, in the latter part of the month of September, 1852. The hours of their death were separated by two days and funeral services for both were held in the North Dutch Reformed Church, which stood on Fulton Street, New York, September 26, 1852. This Church has long since been destroyed to make room for the business of lower New York. It was erected previous to the Revolutionary War, and on the capture of New York by British Troops, was used either as a stable or hospital. Services were suspended during the whole of the war, while the ministers fled from the city. After the war it was restored and services renewed. The first English services were held in this building. The beautiful Corinthian columns which supported both galleries and roof were donated by the leading families of New York, including the Schuylers and Roosevelts and the initials of the donors' names were carved at the top of each pillar.

I was present at these ceremonies, and I am shown in the painting beside my father, the Rev. Philip Milledoler Brett, D.D., who graduated from Rutgers in 1834; he was the grandson of Dr. Milledoler. I remember distinctly wearing a mourning band on my hat in memory of my great-grandfather. The details of the service are not remembered, save that the long ride to Greenwood Cemetery ended at the vault which in later years became familiar to me by frequent visits on similar occasions.

Dr. Milledoler had, in earlier years, before he became President of Rutgers College, been one of the Ministers of the Collegiate Church of New York and in recognition of this fact, the Consistory had ordered the pulpit to be appropriately draped in mourning emblems. The pallbearers, seated in the front seat, were leading ministers of New York City. They, as well as the officiating clergy, wear the funeral scarf, which in the early days of my own ministry, was still worn at funeral services. In the pew on the right of the pulpit, the members of the Consistory of that date, are seated. I do not think that any of their faces are intended to be portraits. The officiating clergy in the pulpit are ministers of the Church at that time. I knew them all and recognize their faces. The Rev. Thomas DeWitt, D.D. is speaking. On his left is the Senior Pastor of that time, Rev. Dr. Knox. The Rev. Thomas Vermilyea is seated on the right of Mr.

DeWitt, and on the extreme right is the Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., the youngest pastor.

The pathetic feature of the picture is the arrangement of the two caskets, side by side, in front of the pulpit. It is to be noted that the artist has shown the line of division between the family in black, and the rest of the congregation in garments of various colors. He has well shown the bonnets of the day. Naturally, as the picture is taken from the front of the Church, we are looking only at the backs of the people, except those seated in the gallery and the side pews.

Cornelius Brett.

Dr. Philip Milledoler was born in New York City on September 2, 1775. The family moved to Rhinebeck after the British occupation of New York and lived in the house formerly occupied by General Armstrong of the Continental Army. He prepared for college at a private school in Boston and also under instruction from James Hardie, eminent classical scholar, and entered Kings College, now Columbia, in 1789. He graduated in May, 1793, receiving the degree of A.B., and delivered an oration on natural philosophy. He was ordained as a clergyman on May 1, 1794. After serving in various churches in New York and Philadelphia, Dr. Milledoler became President of Rutgers in 1825, continuing in that office until 1840.

During his administration Col. Henry Rutgers, a friend of Dr. Milledoler, presented to the College the bell now hanging in Old Queens, and, after the college had been renamed Rutgers, he added a gift of money. After giving up the Presidency at Rutgers, Dr. Milledoler and his wife lived with their son-in-law, Hon. James W. Beekman of New York, at whose home he died.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

### *The Journal in Deepdene*

In recognition of Mr. Frederic W. Goudy's kindness in coming to Rutgers to speak on Type Design, this number of *The Journal* is appearing in Deepdene type, one of the most popular of the more than a hundred type faces that Mr. Goudy has designed. The cover is set in Deepdene and Forum, another of Mr. Goudy's fonts. We are glad to acknowledge the courtesy of The Haddon Craftsmen for their cooperation in designing this issue.

### *The Five Hundredth Anniversary*

A special committee of the Associated Friends, under the chairmanship of Mr. Leslie A. Marchand of the Department of English, was appointed in February to arrange for a series of four lectures to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing from movable type, and to select and put on exhibit in the Library examples of the printer's art during the past five centuries. The work of the group is described by the chairman elsewhere in this issue of *The Journal*. Other members of the committee were Franklin M. Biebel, Donald F. Cameron, Ada J. English, Ethel M. Fair, Alice G. Higgins, Alan E. James, Roger McDonough, Earl Schenck Miers, George A. Osborn, Robert T. Thompson.

### *Association Copies*

Mr. I. Robert Kriendler, of the Class of 1936, is making a collection of autographed books by literary people, whom he frequently meets in the course of his daily business, and he has formed the delightful habit of asking each author to sign two copies of his works, one of which he gives to the Rutgers Library. He writes:

> I hope to get for the Library a copy of each 'signed first' that I gather for myself. In this way the Library will benefit immediately, rather than at some future date, at which time I hope to present a sizeable collection. . . . My plan is to send to the College whatever volume, regardless of the author or its importance, I can get signed.

Within the last few months nearly a dozen volumes of these inscribed copies have reached the Librarian's desk, including Mr. H. L. Mencken's

*Happy Days* and Mr. Deems Taylor's *The Well Tempered Listener*. All of these books will be put among the special collections of the Library. We should be very glad if in a future number of *The Journal* we might be able to report that this excellent idea is being imitated by other members of the Associated Friends.

## *Gifts*

Since the last number of *The Journal* went to press, many gifts have been received. The list of donors follows:

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*New Members*

The winter seems to be a good season for increasing the numbers of the Associated Friends. During the last half year thirty-two new memberships have been received, which bring the total up to 354.

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# THE PRINTING ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

By Leslie A. Marchand

*As its contribution to the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of printing from movable type, the Library has displayed, in four separate exhibits, some of its most treasured and beautiful books. The selection of books to be shown in the glass cases was made by Miss Alice G. Higgins and Mr. Alan E. James of the Library staff. The whole program of lectures and printing displays has been directed by Mr. Leslie A. Marchand of the Department of English.*

The five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing from movable type, and the four hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing in America, were celebrated during March and April by the Associated Friends of the Rutgers Library with a series of lectures and exhibits of outstanding interest.

The lecture series started auspiciously on March 19 with the address on Type Design by Frederic W. Goudy, which is printed as the leading article in this issue of *The Journal*. Mr. Goudy illustrated his lecture with the Paramount film showing the whole process of type manufacture, from the original design to the finished type face, as he performed it in his unique workshop in the old mill at Deepdene, his home near Marlborough, New York, before the disastrous fire of 1939 destroyed the work of years.

The other lectures of the series included "The History of Printing," April 2, by Carl Purington Rollins, well known designer of books of distinction and printer to Yale University and adviser on printing to Rutgers University; "Printing in the History of America," April 9, by Will Ransom, secretary of the Printing Anniversary Committee of the American Institute of Graphic Arts; and "The Reader's Interest in Good Printing," April 25, by Frederic G. Melcher, editor of *The Publishers' Weekly* and former president of the American Institute of Graphic Arts.

The Frederic W. Goudy exhibit (a preliminary to the general history of printing displays), which lasted from Monday, March 18, through Friday, March 22, and which attracted a great deal of favorable attention, consisted of a display of Mr. Goudy's notable work in type design and his other contributions to the art of printing. Among the

items loaned for the exhibit by Mr. Goudy was "The Record of Goudy Types," a list of the types he has designed from "Camelot," his first, to "Californian Italic," his 107th. (Mr. Goudy is now working on his 112th type design.) Noteworthy also were the first three books published by The Village Press, which he founded with Will Ransom in Chicago in 1903: "Printing," an essay by William Morris; Rossetti's "The Blessed Damozel"; and "A Dissertation upon Roast Pig" by Charles Lamb. All of these were printed by hand in the "Village" type, Mr. Goudy's first distinctive book type. Another item of interest was "The Door in the Wall" by H. G. Wells, published in 1911 by Mitchell Kennerley. It was for this book that Mr. Goudy designed his well known "Kennerley" type, an original design inspired by the work of the first Italian artist craftsmen and by Caslon. Other books on display were "The Alphabet," first published by Mitchell Kennerley in 1918, a unique history of type design in a series of plates drawn by Mr. Goudy representing each letter of the alphabet in fifteen forms, from that of the letters on the Trajan Column at Rome through the Gothic of Gutenberg and Fust and the rounded Caslon old-face to the distinctive Kennerley Italic; "The Bible designed to be Read as Living Literature," set in 14-point "Deepdene" and "Deepdene Italic," one of Mr. Goudy's most beautiful book faces;* and "The Trajan Capitals," containing plates made from designs drawn by Mr. Goudy to show the ideal forms of the capital letters in the inscription on the column erected in Rome by the Emperor Trajan about 113 A. D.

During the month of April a series of three exhibits illustrating the history of printing were maintained simultaneously at the Rutgers University Library, the Library of New Jersey College for Women, and the New Brunswick Free Public Library. From April 1 to April 13 the exhibit at the Rutgers Library illustrated the "History of the Printed Book," showing the development of books from German printing of the fifteenth century to English printing of the nineteenth. In the first case were several incunabula belonging to the Rutgers Library including a leaf from the *Catholicon*, printed in Mainz, probably by Gutenberg, in 1460, "not by means of reed, stylus or quill, but with the miraculous

*This book had an additional interest in that the composition, printing, and binding were done by the Haddon Craftsmen of Camden, N. J., printers of the Library *Journal* (this issue of *the Journal* is printed in the same type), and that the general format was designed by Philip Van Doren Stern, Rutgers '24, who was given an honorary degree this year by his alma mater.

and harmonious concurrence of punches and types cast in moulds." The printing of Caxton was represented by a leaf from his *Polycronicon*, 1482. There was also on display a copy of the famous *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Further developments in printing were shown in the work of Froben, Froschauer, Aldus, Elzevir, Plantin, Baskerville, Didot, Bodoni, Bulmer, and Whittingham (the Chiswick Press).

Considerable local interest attached to the American exhibit because of the items from early New Jersey and New Brunswick printers and the rare books from the Rutgers Library's Americana shelves. The earliest original example of American printing in the exhibit was *An Answer to George Keith's Libel against a Catechism Published by Francis Makemie* . . . Boston, Printed, by Benjamin Harris, at the Sign of the Bible, over-against the Blew-Anchor, 1694. The next item of special interest was the work of William Bradford, who set up the first printing press in Philadelphia in 1685 and the first in New York in 1693. His temporary press in Perth Amboy in 1723 was the first in New Jersey. The title page of the book on display reads: *The Laws, and Acts of the General Assembly of His Majesties Province of Nova Caesarea or New-Jersey* . . . Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty for the Province of New Jersey, 1717.

Another item of more than passing interest was *The New-York Weekly Journal*. Number XXIX. Monday May 20th, 1734. New York: Printed and Sold by John Peter Zenger. This newspaper and Zenger (1680–1746) were two of the principals in the most celebrated "Freedom of the Press" trial in this country. The acquittal of Zenger marked a milestone in the history of journalistic freedom.

Several interesting specimens from the press of Benjamin Franklin were included in the exhibit: *The Apology of the Presbytery of New-Brunswick*, 1741, *M. T. Cicero. Cato Major or His Discourses of Old-Age*, 1744, and two pieces of paper money, "Twenty Shillings. To Counterfeit is Death. Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1759" and "Two Pounds . . . 1760." Other Colonial printers represented included Christopher Sower (1693–1758), James Parker, Hugh Gaine, John Holt, and Isaiah Thomas. Some noteworthy specimens from New Jersey presses were *The New American Magazine* No. V, for May, 1758, printed at Woodbridge by James Parker. (One of the early American magazines —the first was printed in Philadelphia in 1741. This is also a product

of the first permanent press in New Jersey.) *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesarea, or New-Jersey* . . . By Samuel Smith, Burlington, in New-Jersey: Printed and Sold by James Parker, 1765; *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*, 1774, printed at Burlington by Isaac Collins, successor to James Parker; and the *Princeton Packet, and General Advertiser*. Thursday, December 14, 1786. Vol. I, No. 26. Printed by James Tod. Tod, the first printer in Princeton, was active for only two years (1785–87), and consequently specimens from his press are scarce.

Of New Brunswick printers, the most interesting represented in the exhibit were Abraham Blauvelt and Shepard Kollock. A whole case was devoted to Blauvelt, a graduate of Queen's College in 1789 and Trustee of the College (1800–?). Among the specimens of his work shown were Paterson's *Compilation of New Jersey Laws* (1800), and a copy of the *Brunswic Gazette* for March 20, 1792 (begun in 1789). An advertisement on the front page recalls the times he lived in: "For Sale, a fine, healthy, stout, Negro Wench . . . very handy at spinning, sewing, and knitting . . ." Another point of view was reflected in the leading article of a paper printed by Kollock, the first printer in New Brunswick. His *Political Intelligencer and New-Jersey Advertiser* (September 21, 1784, No. 50—Printed by Shepard Kollock at Queen's College) displayed on the front page an article entitled: "The Case of our Fellow-Creatures, the oppressed Africans, respectfully recommended to the serious consideration of the Legislature of Great-Britain, by the people called Quakers."

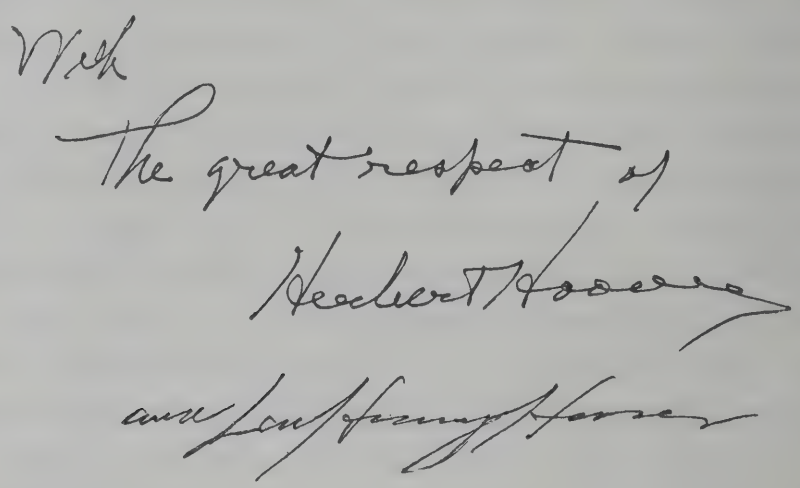
The modern fine printing exhibit included work from American presses such as the Carteret Book Club (printing done by Carl Rollins at the Dyke Mill, Montague, Mass.), DeVinne, Grolier Club, Haddon Craftsmen, Roycroft, William Edwin Rudge, John Henry Nash, Plimpton, Random House, Merrymount (D. B. Updike), and the Village Press (Frederic W. Goudy). Modern English press work was represented in books put out by Chiswick, Kelmscott, Shakespeare Head, Nonesuch, Oxford University Press, and others.

If the students and other friends and users of the Library who paused before the cases gained a better appreciation of the significance of the great craft and art of printing, the Associated Friends of the Library of Rutgers University will feel well repaid for their efforts.

# NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

## DE RE METALLICA

On March 6, 1940, while Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover were guests of President and Mrs. Clothier, they autographed for the Library a copy of their translation of the 1556 edition of *De Re Metallica*, by Georgius Agricola, the first great work ever written on mining and metallurgy. The inscription, signed by both translators, and reduced below, reads:



The original *De Re Metallica* was written by a German physician born at Glauchau in Saxony on March 24, 1490. His name was Georg Bauer, but following a custom of literary men of his time he Latinized his name to Georgius Agricola. After his early education at the University of Leipsic, he taught Greek and Latin and in 1522 was appointed lecturer at Leipsic. While teaching he published a Latin grammar in 1520, and later he wrote on religious, historical, and political topics. In 1524 he went to Italy, and there he studied philosophy, medicine, and the natural sciences for three years. In 1527 Agricola was chosen town physician of Joachimstal, Bohemia, a booming mining camp at that day. He gave his spare time to the study of mineralogy, geology, and mining, and wrote on these subjects.

Agricola's first work in relation to mining was *Bermannus sive De Re Metallica*. It was first published by Froben in Basel in 1530, and the Library is fortunate enough to own a copy of this edition. Probably named for Lorenz Berman, an author on mining, the book is a sort of catechism on mineralogy, mining terms, and mining lore. Possibly in recognition of this book, in 1530 Prince Maurice of Saxony appointed Agricola historiographer with an annual allowance, and he removed to Chemnitz, Saxony, an active center of the mining and smelting industry in Germany. His second book, *De Mensuris et Penderis*, the first edition of which is also in the Library, bound in with the Bermannus, was published at Paris in 1533. Five other works on mining followed before the publication of

*De Re Metallica* in 1556. Unfortunately, Agricola died on November 21, 1555, and did not live to see its publication.

In addition to the Hoover translation of *De Re Metallica*, the Library owns the third Latin edition, published at Basel in 1621 by Ludovicus Rex (his German name was Ludwig König). In the same year, this printer published the third German edition, for which he used the same cuts, and this work is also in the Rutgers Library.

There are twelve books in the original work. Mr. and Mrs. Hoover have added their preface, an introduction, and three appendices. Regarding the difficulties of translation, the authors state: "In using Latin the author availed himself of a medium which had ceased to expand a thousand years before his subject had in many particulars come into being; in consequence he was in difficulties with a large number of ideas for which there were no corresponding words in the vocabulary at his command and instead of adopting into the text his native German terms, he coined several hundred Latin expressions to answer his needs. It is upon this rock that most former attempts at translation have been wrecked."

No better justification for an English translation of *De Re Metallica* can be given than that of Mr. and Mrs. Hoover, who make clear in their preface the historic importance of the book to modern readers:

"We need make no apologies for *De Re Metallica*. During one hundred and eighty years, it was not superseded as the text book and guide to miners and metallurgists for until Schluter's great work on Metallurgy in 1738 it had no equal. That it passed through some ten editions in three languages at a period when printing of such a volume was no ordinary undertaking is in itself sufficient evidence of the importance in which it was held, and is a record that no other volume has equalled since.

"The translators do not present *De Re Metallica* as a work of practical value. The methods and processes have long since been superseded; yet surely such a milestone on the road of development of one of the two most basic of human industrial activities is more worthy of preservation than the thousands of volumes devoted to records of human destruction.

"To those interested in the history of their own profession, we need make no apologies except for the long delay in publication. For this we put forward the necessity of active endeavour in many directions: as this book could be but a labour of love, it has had to find moments for its execution in night hours, weekends, and holidays, in all extending over a period of about five years. If the work serves to strengthen the traditions of one of the most important and least recognized of the world's professions, we shall be amply repaid."

Albert O. Hayes.

## CENTENARY OF SOIL SCIENCE

This year marks the centenary of the publication of the first Report on the Geology of the State of New Jersey, under the title *Description of the Geology of the State of New Jersey, Being a Final Report*, by Henry D. Rogers, State Geologist, and Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at the University of Pennsylvania.

The year of publication of this "final report" was a memorable one in the history of agriculture, not only in this country but in the world at large. It marked the beginning of a new period, a period of transition from empirical prac-

tices to a scientific basis of our knowledge of the soil and its management. The brilliant investigations of the plant physiologists such as Senebier and de Saussure, and of agricultural chemists, such as Sir Humphry Davy, resulted in three revolutionary contributions: Boussingault, in France, laid the foundation of modern agricultural science; Liebig, in Germany, summarized the results of previous workers and announced the new laws of crop nutrition; finally, Lawes, in England, began his crop experiments, to be followed within three years, by the foundation of the Rothamsted Experimental Station, the oldest in the world.

In order to give a clear picture of the status of our knowledge of geology and of soil science, at the time when Rogers began his survey, it is sufficient to dwell upon two books, which preceded his work and which appeared to be among the most significant of the period: 1. William Maclure—*Observations on the Geology of the United States of America, with Some Remarks on the Effect Produced on the Nature and Fertility of Soils by the Decomposition of the Different Classes of Rocks; and an Application to the Fertility of Every State in the Union, in Reference to the Accompanying Geological Map, Philadelphia, 1817.* 2. Charles Lyell. *Elements of Geology.* Philadelphia. 1839.

Maclure began his book with the following significant words: "All inquiry into the nature and properties of rocks, or the relative situations they occupy on the surface of the earth, has been much neglected. It is only since a few years that it has been thought worth the attention of either the learned or unlearned; and even now, a great proportion of both, treat such investigations with contempt as beneath their notice." He continued: "Why mankind should have so long neglected to acquire knowledge so useful to the progress of civilization—why the substances over which he has been daily stumbling, and without whose aid he could not exercise any one art or profession, should be the last to occupy his attention—is one of those problems, perhaps only to be solved by an analysis of the nature and origin of the power of the few, over the many."

Lyell wrote in a similar vein: "All are aware that the solid parts of the earth consist of distinct substances, such as clay, chalk, sand, limestone, coal, slate, granite, and the like; but previously to observation it is commonly imagined that all these had remained from the first in the state in which we now see them—that they were created in their present form, and in their present position. Geologists have come to a different conclusion. They have discovered proofs that the external parts of the earth were not all produced in the beginning of things, in the state in which we now behold them, nor in an instant of time. On the contrary, they have acquired their actual configuration and condition gradually, under a great variety of circumstances, and at successive periods, during each of which distinct races of living beings have flourished on the land and in the waters, the remains of these creatures still lying buried in the crust of the earth."

And so, when by an act of the legislature, Dr. Rogers was appointed, on April 24, 1835, to make a geological and mineralogic survey of the State of New Jersey the world was ready to listen to what he might report. The purpose of the survey was "to bring to light the native mineral productions of the State, in a manner to make the examination as serviceable as possible to the interests of its agriculture

and other branches of industry." Particular attention was to be paid to the deposits of marl, limestone and "other mineral substances useful as agents for fertilizing the land, the numerous ores, sands, clays, building materials and substances of value in the arts." The first part of the Report was published in 1836, by Desilver, Thomas & Co. of Philadelphia, and the Final Report in 1840, by C. Sherman & Co. of the same city.

The concluding sentence of the first report emphasizes the humble approach made to this important science, which was immediately recognized to be of great significance in agriculture and in natural science: "I consider the examination which I have made as no more than a general review of its [the State of New Jersey's] mineral resources, so that if it shall be found that the facts and views made known through this report, are even in a small degree friendly in their influence upon the agriculture and domestic arts of the State, it is to be regarded as but an earnest of far greater benefits to flow from a detailed geological survey more systematically followed up."

The work of Rogers coming at that time was the beginning of a new period, a period when geology gave rise to a new science, the science of the soil; the latter branching off later into several new subjects, namely, soil chemistry and soil physics, soil fertility, soil microbiology, and finally soil conservation. In the growth of the mother of these new sciences, soil science and its offsprings, Rutgers has contributed in many ways, both by original research and by the publication of numerous books, journals, scientific papers, and practical bulletins and circulars.

SELMAN A. WAKSMAN.

## *DEED OF HENDRICK RUTGERS*

A DOCUMENT of the Rutgers family, whose annals are naturally of especial interest to Rutgers University, has come into the possession of the Library by a gift of Mr. John Wyckoff Mettler, of the Class of 1899, trustee. It is a deed of land, dated June 19, 1772, boldly and elaborately written on parchment, 20½ by 13 inches. Hendrick Rutgers and his wife Catharine, of New York City, "moved by the natural Love and Affection" which they have and bear toward their "Daughter Elizabeth, wife to Gerard De Peyster of the said city, merchant, . . . and also for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings lawful money of New York," acknowledge their gift to her of "All those four Certain Lotts, pieces or parcels of ground Scituate, Lying and being part and parcell of that part of the Farm of the said Hendrick Rutgers which is Laid out into Lotts. . . ." The boundaries are described, Lombard Street and George Street appearing in the description, and the usual multiplied legal phrases used, confirming the conveyance. Each of the two signatures has fully intact the seal and ribbon attached.

Hendrick Rutgers, son of Harman (2nd), descended from Rutger Jacobse of Fort Orange, 1636, was the father of Henry Rutgers for whom the University is named. He was born February 20, 1712. He married Catharine, daughter of Johannes de Peyster, at one time mayor of New York, the ceremony, he says, "by my uncle, the Rev. Peter Vas, preacher at Kingston in Esopus." They had eight children, three named Harman of whom two died in infancy and the third was killed in the Battle of Long Island, Hen-

drick or Henry, and four daughters. The daughters all married into leading families of the city: de Peyster, Bedlow, Bancker, McRea. His father, Harman (2nd), was one of the jury at the now celebrated trial of Zenger, accused of libel and acquitted by the jury in a basic upholding of the freedom of the press, a decision called by Gouverneur Morris "the germ of American freedom." At the time of the Revolution and the occupation of the city by the British, leaving the city as did so many of its citizens, he went to Albany. He died there in 1779, "a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and a gentleman of very large estate in this city [New York]."

The farm land owned by Hendrick Rutgers was largely an inheritance from his father. It was, as indicated above, on the lower east side of Manhattan Island. He built his house on a site now the block bounded by Monroe, Cherry, Jefferson and Clinton Streets. When he divided a part of the farm into building lots, shown on a map of 1755, he gave the defined streets names drawn from his family: Catherine; Bancker, then Bedlow, now Madison; Harman, now East Broadway; Henry; Rutgers, now Oak. Two streets were named after the royal house, George, referred to in the deed, and Charlotte; they are now Market and Pike Streets. The present Rutgers Place is so named on a map of 1775.

A large part of the land owned by Hendrick Rutgers at his death was left to his son Henry. In turn Henry, who never married, left a large part of the land owned by him at his death to his great-nephew William B. Crosby whose guardian he was and who was virtually adopted by him.

W. H. S. Demarest.

## THE BUCKET

On Wednesday, June 3, 1818, a poem called *The Bucket* was published in the *Republican Chronicle* of New York City. The author gave his name as "SELIM," but he soon revealed his true identity as Samuel Woodworth (1784–1842), the editor of the *Chronicle*. Though *The Bucket* was immediately reprinted all over the United States, for many years no copy of the *Republican Chronicle* in which the poem first appeared was known to exist. A few years ago, however, the Library found and bought an almost complete file of this exceedingly rare newspaper.

A comparison of the original text with that which is reprinted in one of the modern anthologies reveals a number of alterations in spelling, punctuation, and, in a few instances, of words. In one case the meaning has been radically changed. In the third and fourth lines of the third stanza the author wrote of the bucket: "Not a full blushing goblet could tempt me to leave it, / Though fill'd with the nectar that Jupiter sips." In the modern reprint the fourth line has been altered to read: "The brightest that beauty or revelry sips." The classical allusion—reminiscent of Ben Jonson—has gone, and has been replaced by a less picturesque phrase. This is a good example of the way texts are treated as they pass from anthology to anthology without reference to the author's original.

Woodworth was a poet of some note in his day, the editor of half a dozen periodicals, the author of one novel and of several plays. Nowadays he is remembered for little besides his authorship of "The old oaken bucket," as his poem is popularly called.

R. K.

*For the Republican Chronicle.*

## THE BUCKET.

How dear to this heart are the scenes of my childhood,
When fond recollection recals them to view—
The orchard, the meadow, the deep-tangled wild-wood,
And ev'ry lov'd spot which my infancy knew;
The wide-spreading pond, and the mill which stood by it,
The bridge, and the rock where the cataract fell,
The cot of my father, the dairy-house nigh it,
And e'en the rude bucket which hung in the well,
The old oaken bucket—the iron-bound bucket—
The moss-covered bucket, which hung in the well.

2

That moss-covered vessel I hail as a treasure,
For often, at noon, when return'd from the field,
I found it the source of an exquisite pleasure;
The purest and sweetest that nature can yield.
How ardent I seized it, with hands that were glowing,
And quick to the white-pebbled bottom it fell,
Then soon, with the emblem of truth overflowing,
And dripping with coolness, it rose from the well.
The old oaken bucket—the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket arose from the well.

3

How sweet from the green mossy brim to receive it,
As pois'd on the curb, it inclined to my lips;
Not a full blushing goblet could tempt me to leave it,
Though fill'd with the nectar that Jupiter sips.
And now, far remov'd from the lov'd situation,
The tear of regret will intrusively swell,
As fancy reverts to my father's plantation,
And sighs for the bucket which hangs in his well.
The old oaken bucket—the iron-bound bucket—
The moss-covered bucket, which hangs in his well.

SELIM.

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# *The* JOURNAL

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DECEMBER 1939

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Four Portraits by James Sharples, *by* Franklin M. Babel . . . 1
The Great Chronicle of the City of London, *by* Anna M. Campbell . . . . . 7
The Athenian Society of Queen's College, *by* Mildred R. Woodward . . . . . 13
Freneau's "View" of Princeton, *by* Rudolf Kirk . . . . 20
The Associated Friends . . . . . 26
The Place of the Library, *by* Lane Cooper . . . . . 29
Materials Needed for the Library . . . . . 41
Notes from the Library . . . . . 42

Review of *American Psychology before William James* by Jay Wharton Fay, by Carroll C. Pratt, p. 42; Review of *Two Bookes of Constancie. Written in Latine by Justus Lipsius. Englished by Sir John Stradling.* Edited with an Introduction by Rudolf Kirk. Notes by Clayton Morris Hall, by Donald J. McGinn, p. 43; *The Agricultural Magazine*, by C. R. W., p. 45; Ralph Voorhees in 1860, by R. K., p. 48.

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Volume III DECEMBER 1939 Number 1

## FOUR PORTRAITS BY JAMES SHARPLES

*By* Franklin M. Biebel

*After spending two years as assistant curator of the City Art Museum of St. Louis and one divided between digging with the Princeton Expedition for the Excavation of Antioch and teaching at Princeton, Professor Biebel came to Rutgers in 1938 as head of the Department of Art. He is the author of various articles and of one monograph,* The Mosaics of Gerasa.

The early years of the American Republic are marked by the emergence of a new type of artist. In addition to the aristocratic tradition of Copley, West, and Stuart, there arose a demand for less expensive portraits that would be within reach of the average citizen. To meet this demand came the "traveling" artist, carrying all his equipment with him, and usually his family as well. His work called for accurate observation, speed of execution and a faithful resemblance in the completed work. Such artists worked usually in pencil, crayon, or chalk rather than the heavier and more tedious oil technique, turning out in a few hours a profile or full-face view, according to a fixed scale of prices. Viewed today, these portraits impress us by their directness of purpose and simplicity, with none of the striving for effect or pretense that characterizes the work of later portrait artists in America. Of necessity small and unassuming, they reflect, in their humble material and wide-spread production, the democratic spirit of our country's founders.

Many of the artists who profited from this increased demand for portraiture were of foreign birth and training. Native American artists either concerned themselves with the more lucrative painting in oils or set off for England to gain further

prestige with their successes abroad. Among the foreigners who were not unwilling to accept the humbler commissions and adventurous life which became the lot of the "traveling" artist, were the Englishmen, John Jarvis and James Sharples, and the Frenchman, St. Memin.

Best known of these itinerant artists, both because of his high artistic ability as well as his extensive work, is James Sharples. A group of four portraits by Sharples was included in the recent bequest of James Neilson, '66, to Rutgers University. They include portraits of George Washington, John Voorhees, Colonel John Neilson, and his wife, Catherine Voorhees Neilson. Uniform in size,[1] they are all portraits in profile, executed on the soft, grayish-tan paper, slightly rough in texture, which characterizes the work of Sharples. The Washington portrait,[2] most famous of Sharples' subjects, alone has color added to the composition, the background in brilliant Prussian blue, shading off into lighter tones, contrasting with the white powdered wig, its queue bound with a large, black bow, and touches of flesh color in the cheeks and lips. Traces of powder from the wig are clearly discernible on the black coat. In all of these characteristics it resembles closely the other examples of this same subject by Sharples.[3] This portrait is also more elaborately framed than the others, its larger moldings being decorated with several rows of simple beading. The three other portraits are executed in tones of black and white chalk. Occasionally, the preliminary drawing, in pencil or crayon, is clearly visible, as, for example, in the band surrounding the cap of Mrs. Neilson. These portraits differ from that of Washington in having a distinct oval line surrounding the figure which is not followed by their present rectangular frames; whether they were originally intended to be placed in oval frames is difficult to say. They seem to be extremely natural in pose, with little effort on the part of the artist to flatter or improve any physical characteristics. In fact, Sharples seems to have observed a strict realism. Colonel Neilson's rather prominent nose and a small mole are represented with unflinching severity. Younger than her husband, Mrs. Neilson must have been considered above

[1] Approximately 9½" x 7".

[2] Published by George P. Schmidt, *Journal of Rutgers University Library*, II, 2, 1939, p. 34.

[3] Katherine McCook Knox, *The Sharples, Their Portraits of Washington and His Contemporaries*," New Haven, 1930, pp. 68–69, ill. No. 36.

Catherine Voorhees Neilson

the average of her contemporaries in good looks if we are to believe the reports of General Washington during his stay at Morristown, where "the General's chair at table was always placed between Lady Washington's and Mrs. Neilson's no matter who was present, because the General liked pretty women."[4]

James Sharples was born in England and came to America with his family in 1794. Although he worked in oil in England, no portraits by him in this technique are known to have been painted in this country. His experiences here, all faithfully recorded by his wife Ellen in her diary, give an excellent picture of the life of the "traveling" artist. After an unfortunate experience in Connecticut, where his small daughter Rolinda narrowly escaped death in a public coach when the horses were frightened and ran away, he constructed an enclosed carriage, large enough to contain his wife, his three children, his drawing materials and himself. Since his activities in England had gone beyond painting to include "mechanical pursuits" having to do with "steam carriages," some of which resulted in recorded patents, we may be sure that his interest and care in building this traveling studio were not those of an amateur. This vehicle became the home of the Sharples family and in it they traveled through New England and the South, executing commissions wherever they could be found, and occasionally stopping off long enough to rent a shop and enter into the life of the community. In addition to providing a safe means of transportation, it is not unlikely that the spectacular appearance of the carriage as it passed through the countryside created a certain amount of desirable publicity for the artist and his family. This, together with Sharples' actual technique in getting work, show that his mechanical and artistic abilities were joined to a shrewd business sense. His method is described for us by William Dunlap, a native artist of Perth Amboy, as follows:

> He visited all the cities and towns of the United States, carrying letters to persons distinguished, either military, civil, or literary, with a request to paint their portraits for his collection. This being granted, and the portrait finished in about two hours, the likeness generally induced an order

[4] Margaret Armstrong, *Five Generations*, New York, 1930, p. 145.

for a copy, and brought as sitters all who saw it. His price for the profile was $15; and for the full face (never so good) $20.[5]

This system had the further merit of providing the artist with a collection of originals that could be used at any future time for additional copies without need of the sitter. In the case of Sharples' more distinguished patrons, such as Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson, these additional copies became the basis of a substantial income for the Sharples household. The business of making the copies also presented an opportunity for other members of the family to make themselves useful. It is described, with delightful candor, by Ellen Sharples as follows:

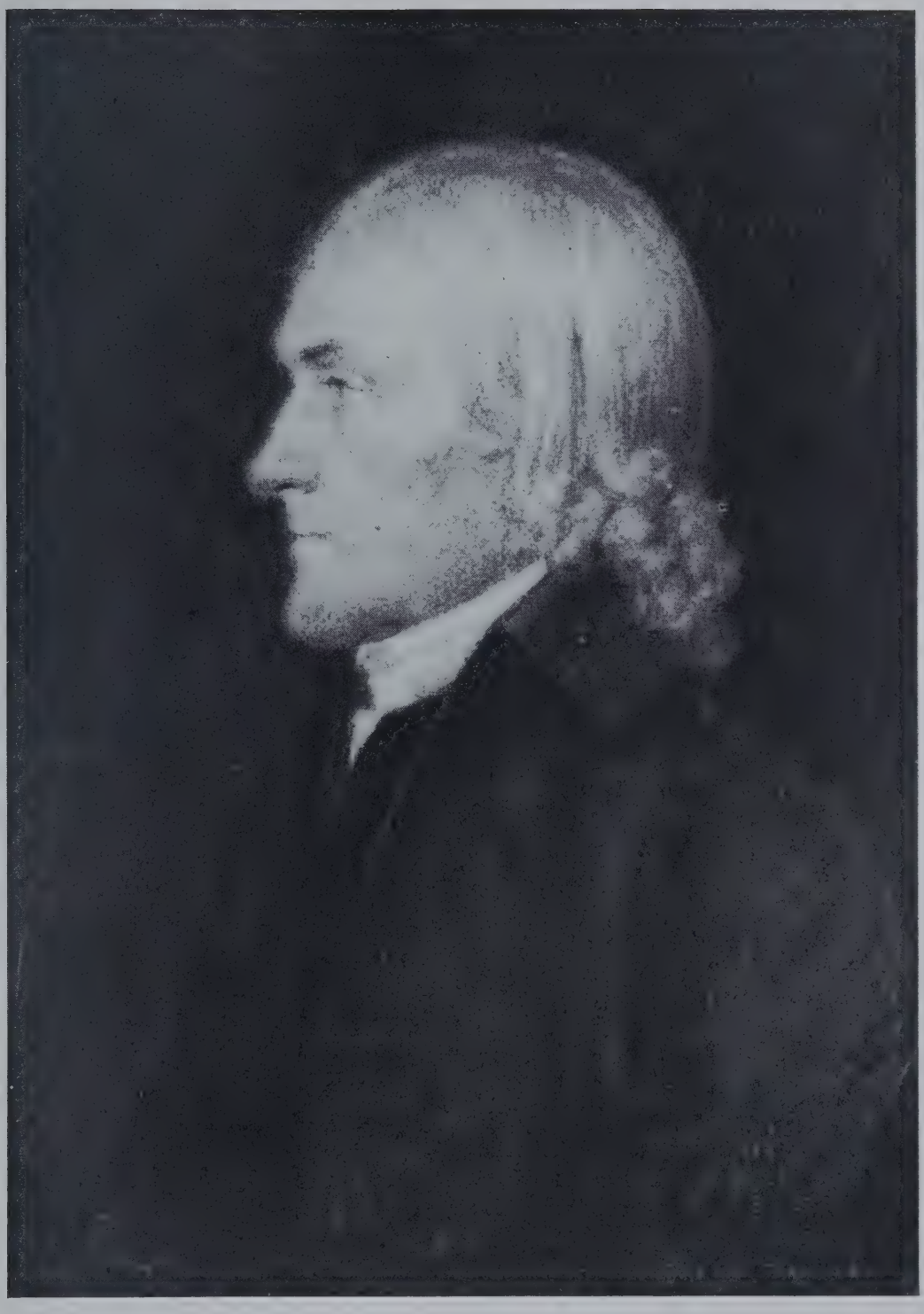
> The continual fluctuation of the funds and other property in which our money had been invested, the uncertainty in mechanical pursuits in which Mr. S. delighted—all had an influence in deciding me, soon after our arrival in Philadelphia where Congress then assembled, to make my drawing which had been learnt and practiced as an ornamental art for amusement, available to a useful purpose. Mr. S. was generally engaged drawing in crayons the portraits of the most distinguished Americans, foreign Ministers and other distinguished visitants from Europe. Copies were frequently required; these I undertook and was so far successful as to have as many commissions as I could execute; they were thought equal to the originals, price the same: we lived in good style associating in first society.[6]

Eventually, all the members of the family were drawn into this part of the work, so that, in later years, it is almost impossible to distinguish the work of James, the father, from that of his wife, Ellen, or Felix and James, Jr., his sons. The belief, never proved, that James Sharples used a mechanical aid, such as the pantograph or physiotrace, in drawing his portraits, makes this duplicating process by others in his family and the resulting confusion, seem more plausible. Even these activities, however, fail to mark the limits of this resourceful family. We learn from a letter of Mrs. James Hillhouse to her daughter Mary, who was staying with the Sharples in Philadelphia, that Mrs. Sharples was instructing Mary in drawing and in French, as well as advising her "in manners and in choice of clothes."[7]

[5] William Dunlap, *History of Rise and Progress of Arts of Design in United States* (1834), 2nd edition, Boston, 1918, II, p. 205.

[6] Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[7] Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 15.



John Voorhees

There seem, literally, to have been no fields of culture left untouched by the "traveling" artist and his family.

Although New Brunswick is mentioned several times in Mrs. Sharples' diary, there is no reference to our group of portraits. Those of Colonel John Neilson, Mrs. Catherine Voorhees Neilson, and her father, John Voorhees, so far as can be determined, are the work of James Sharples, Senior, and exist only in these examples. The late Mr. James Neilson stated that the portraits of his ancestors were done from life by Sharples in New Brunswick, at the same time as Sharples' portraits of Anthony Walton White (also a native of New Brunswick), and his family, and that the likeness of Washington was the work of Sharples; it was acquired from the artist by Colonel John Neilson.[8] It is only natural that Colonel Neilson, having ordered his own family portraits, would wish to acquire as well the portrait of his friend, General Washington. Taking into account the more than thirty known examples of the Washington portrait, however, and the self-confessed copying, we cannot be sure that it is entirely by the hand of James Sharples. Close comparison with the others reveals a certain stiff quality in the figure of Washington, not present in them, and suggests that it may be the work of some other member of the family.

It has not been possible to determine the exact date of Colonel Neilson's family portraits. Mr. James Neilson's statement that they were done at the same time as those by Sharples of Anthony Walton White and his family, provides no assistance, since nothing further is known concerning these portraits. Lacking definite evidence, the closest date that can be assigned to them is somewhere between 1794, when Sharples came to America, and 1801, the latter being the year in which the Sharples family returned to England. The usual date assigned to the original of the Washington portrait is 1796, which, assuming that it was acquired with the others, would further restrict the possible date of execution to the five-year period from 1796 to 1801. Both Colonel Neilson and General White were living in New Brunswick at this time, Colonel Neilson engaged in his shipping business and General White living at the home of his sister-in-law on Livingston Avenue. Un-

[8] Written statement of Mr. Alexander S. Graham to Rutgers University Library, December 10, 1938.

doubtedly the portraits were taken during one of the numerous trips of the Sharples between New York and Philadelphia. An entry in Mrs. Sharples' diary during the second visit of the family to America, which lasted from 1809 to James Sharples' death in 1811, records the making of a copy of General White's portrait in New York in 1810,[9] but any possibility that our group of portraits might have been made at this time is removed by the fact that John Voorhees died in 1802 and General White in 1803.

In spite of their methods of mass production, the Sharples represent an important and valuable contribution to the development of artistic consciousness in America. Their work, at its best, reflects a sincere effort to meet the needs of the time and resulted in portraits which vastly surpass in merit much of American portraiture that has been done since. That it was founded upon a real sense of artistic values, cannot be doubted when looking at the Neilson family portraits. Added confirmation, though not on the same level, is furnished by the following comment of Ellen Sharples, describing a visit to New Brunswick: "We reached Brunswick just in time to dress and drink tea at Mrs. White's . . . who gave us a very cordial reception. Mr. Evans returned with us to the Inn, where we saw a party of young persons dancing, the ladies dressed very fine but not with taste."[10] The distinction which she makes may seem trifling, but in artistic matters it is all-important, and it was this "taste" which the "traveling" artist and his family contributed to our general cultural development. It was sadly forgotten by the second half of the century.

[9] Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[10] Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

# THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF THE CITY OF LONDON[1]

*By* Anna M. Campbell

*When in London during the summer of 1938, Mr. Charles Brewer, of the faculty of the Rutgers Preparatory School, visited the ancient Guildhall. There he met Mr. J. L. Douthwaite, the librarian, who told him that* The Great Chronicle of London *was being printed entire for the first time from the unique manuscript in an edition exclusively for presentation. Mr. Brewer expressed the hope that a copy would be given to the Rutgers University Library. A few months later, when the book was completed, the copy arrived with the compliments of the Library Committee of the Guildhall. It is described below by Dr. Anna M. Campbell, of the Department of History of the New Jersey College for Women, who several years ago was elected Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in recognition of her distinguished study,* The Black Death and Men of Learning.

It is surprising that so important and interesting a document as *The Great Chronicle of London* has existed till the present in a single manuscript copy which only passed into public ownership with its recent presentation by the Viscount Wakefield of Hythe to the Guildhall Library of London, where it is now Guildhall Library MS. 3313. The gratitude expressed by the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London in its dedication of *The Great Chronicle of London* to the Right Honorable the Viscount Wakefield of Hythe will be felt by every user of this important and beautiful volume for whose appearance in print his generosity is responsible. Warm gratitude will also be extended to the editors, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Thornley, for their fine work of transcription and editing.

The chronicle consists of two main parts: the first extends from 1189 to 1439, and is written in a hand of the middle fifteenth century; the second, from 1439 to 1512, is in a handwriting of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Each of the two parts falls in turn into two divisions, the first half of the first to 1399, and of the second, to 1496.[2] It is written in

[1] Published at the Sign of the Dolphin, London, 1938 under the direction of the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London. This handsome edition of 500 copies was for presentation only; the copy presented to the Rutgers University Library is number 255.

[2] *Great Chronicle*, pp. xix–xx.

English, and the editors have been careful in their transcription to reproduce the original as exactly as possible, even in punctuation and capitalization.

*The Great Chronicle* was actually written in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a period for which there is a relative scarcity of contemporary historical material, and is, therefore, especially valuable for the period from the middle of the fifteenth century to its conclusion in 1512.[3] There are evidences of its having been used by John Foxe (1516–1587) in his *Actes and Monuments*, and by John Stow (1525–1604) in his *Survey of London*, his *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, and his *Annales*. In fact, there is reason to believe that the manuscript may have belonged for a time to each of these scholars.[4] Mr. C. L. Kingsford, in his *British Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*, made a study of the manuscript in connection with contemporary London chronicles, and it was he who gave the work its title, remarking that "on account of its exceptional fulness [it] may be fitly described as *The Great Chronicle*." He further calls it the "most ample representation of the English Chronicles of London in their earliest form."[5]

For the period to 1399 the compiler of the first portion of the chronicle gathered his material from earlier writers, and shows marked resemblance to certain other chroniclers of his period. It may be assumed that there was a common archetype, perhaps a Latin original and one or more English versions used by the compilers of *The Great Chronicle* and its fellows when dealing with the centuries preceding their own. For the period from 1399–1439 there is less similarity among the fifteenth-century London chronicles, *The Great Chronicle* resembling sometimes one and sometimes another document.[6] It tends, however, to be somewhat fuller than the others, and becomes more so after 1439. From this date till 1485, the writer

[3] As to scarcity of material for this time see also Hunt, W., and Poole, R. L., editors, *The Political History of England*, Oman, C., vol. IV, 1377–1485, app. I, and Fisher, H. A. L., vol. V., 1485–1547, app. I.

Oman remarks (p. 502): "So far as England can be said to have any contemporary historians at all between the death of Henry V and the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses, we must seek them in the persons who kept up the various London chronicles." Neither he nor Fisher appears to have made use of the manuscript copy of *The Great Chronicle*.

[4] G. C., pp. xvi–xvii, and xli–xliii.

[5] G. C., p. xxvi.

[6] For full discussion, see the introduction, and Kingsford, C. L., *Brit. Hist. Lit. of the 15th Cent.*

evidently used a rather detailed chronicle which was drawn on by several other chroniclers, but which is no longer in existence. He included additional material of his own, probably gathered from eye-witnesses, and after 1485 he writes largely at first hand. This portion of the history is naturally of special value, and contains some matter not found elsewhere as far as the editors have been able to discover. The whole work, though especially the latter half, is marked, as its donor comments in his brief foreword, by "interest as a human document, revealing the author's character and at the same time affording a vivid and curious picture of London at the close of the Middle Ages."

The work is anonymous, but there are reasons for ascribing it to Robert Fabian, who was elected sheriff of London in 1493, became alderman in 1494, and twice served as Master of the Drapers' Company. The author's statement that he was apprenticed to Sir Thomas Cook of this guild reinforces one's belief that Fabian was the author of the latter part of *The Great Chronicle*.

Since the fifteenth century was a particularly picturesque and troubled period of English history, and since a historian active in London affairs wrote from a vantage point, a large part is played in these pages by kings and queens, princes, princesses, and nobles who shared in the glories and tragedies of their age. The author has taken pains to give at length documents bearing on the abdication of Richard II. He displays sympathy for Henry VI and his queen, and admiration for the ability of Henry VII. Parliament and the Commons figure frequently in his pages, valuable information is given about the affairs of the city of London, and economic matters and popular disturbances receive attention. The descriptions of pageants, jousts, feasts, and costumes are of value for the social history of the time.

Some of the material which apparently occurs only, or for the first time, in *The Great Chronicle* possesses considerable interest. "A Balade of Empson,"[7] is such a bitter attack on the former minister that the author follows it by "lett noo man that shall here or Rede this balad thynk, that ffor any malice or cawse of hurt *b*$^{t}$ the said Empson dyd unto the wryter of

[7] G. C., pp. 344–347.

thys boke, that he hath newly Remembrid It." It was merely to point a lesson to those in high places. Others of these poems have to do with John Baptist de Grimaldis; there are three, of which the first is unusual in form, and the third and longest contains a stanza noteworthy as an early reference to marine insurance.[8] It also contains a Chaucer allusion which does not seem to have been included in Miss Spurgeon's *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*.[9]

*The Great Chronicle* is one of three sources which together give the complete Lollard petition of 1410.[10] Apparently nowhere else is found the sinister prophecy it quotes concerning little Edward V when, accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester, and just after he had been proclaimed king, he was received by the mayor and citizens of London:

> Soo that upon the iiij day of maii the mayer and his brethys clad In Scarlet, and upon v C Comoners alle clothid In violet well horsid and well apparaylid, met wyth the kyng in harnesey park his Grace Rydyng In blew velvet, and the duke of Glowcetyr In course blak cloth, and alle the kyngys servauntys and hys were clothid alle In blak In soo much that than was myendid and spokyn of an old prophecy sayying, Whan the blak fflete of Norwaye, is cummyn and goon, Than buyld ye yowir howsis/Of lyme & of stoon.[11]

Another pathetic story about a child seems to be preserved only here. The account of the execution for treason of Tiptoft, earl of Worcester in 1470 is followed by instances of his cruelty:

[8] The poems occupy pp. 352–365.
The stanza referred to, p. 360, reads:

> "What shuld I telle of thy ffals fforgyng
> Of lettyrs of byllys, and sundry acquytauncis
> What shuld I saye, of thyne Imagynyng
> To stuff Shyppis, wyth ffals crafty balauncis
> As bolkkys and stonys, and countyrfayt dalyauncis
> And afftyr assure, the said shippys w$^{t}$ theyr ffreygth
> For grete Summys tyll they cam on the heygth."

[9] G. C., p. 361:

> "O most cursid Caytyff, what shuld I of the wryte
> Or tell the particulers, of thy cursid lyffe
> I trow if Skelton, or Cornysh wold endyte
> Or mastyr moor, they mygth not Inglysh Ryffe
> Nor yit Chawcers, If he were now In lyffe
> Cowde not In metyr, half thy shame spelle
> Nor yit thy ffalshod, half declare or tell"

[10] G. C., pp. xxvii, xxxi, 88–89, 408, 409–410.
[11] G. C., p. 230.

Thys man as above is said was ffamyd Crwell & mercylees ffor soo much as he put to deth ij sonys of therlys (the earl) of desmund which were soo tendyr of age, that oon of theym havyng a Byle or sore In his nekk said unto the execucioner whan he shuld smyte off/his hede, Gentyll Godffadyr beware of the sore In my nekk.[12]

The earliest reference to the city of London's crystal mace, borne by the mayor at coronations, occurs here in 1503.[13] Several other passages dealing with mayors of the city may be quoted. One of 1468, treats of the trial of the author's former master, Sir Thomas Cook:

To the which place the said sir Thomas was browgth & there aregned upon lyffe & deth, In tyme whereof the mayer beyng a Replete and lumpysh man satt ffor chyeff Juge and slept, wherffor the duke syttyng upon his Rygth hand seeng his myssdemeanure said opynly In his derysion, sirs spekyth sofftly for the mayer is on slepe.[14]

Another item, of 1502, concerns Sir John Shaa, a mayor of different calibre:

Thys mayer alsoo browygth upp a newe besynesse whych beffore by any mayer, tyme of meynd was not occupyed, That is to meane that most what every afftir noune he held a court alloon and callid beffore hym many matiers and Redressid theym afftyr the Best of his myend, But not to all mannys pleasurs This man was of a sharp wytt and therwyth of a good & bold spyryt by Reson of the ffavour that he stood In wyth the kyng and Quene & many othir astatis of þ$^{is}$ land In soo much that he was sworn of the kyngys counsayll as the ffame went By auctoryte whereof he bare hym þ$^{e}$ bolder and took upon hym thyngis that hath not soundid to his ffame syne his departyng, But who is In auctoryte that can please all parties, as whoo sayth noon, þan by Reson of these courtis kepyng which was of soom namyd the court of Requestis, moch of the pore people drew unto hym, whom he ffavourid more sometyme than Justyce and good lawe Requyrid, wherffore the men of mygth/murmured agayn hym & said, that he that told the ffyrst tale had avauntage, ffor he was ffor the more party wyth hym best belevid, men of lawe also allowid not his doyng ffor they were hynderid by It, ffor he endyd many maters which In the lawe wold have cost moche money, But not ffor that he contynuyed his tyme and soo dyd ij or iij mayris afftyr hym.[15]

A reputed champion of "the pore people" against whom "the men of mygth murmurid" of greater fame, or at least

[12] G. C., p. 213.

[13] G. C., p. 321. "And next beffore the quenys Chare Rode the lordys except þ$^{e}$ mayer which bare a mase of Crystall Garnysshid w' gold next unto the Chare."

[14] G. C., p. 206. The mayor was "Thomas Owlgrave Skynner," the Duke of Clarence.

[15] G. C., p. 320.

notoriety, than Sir John Shaa was reported to be bestirring himself in the same year. This was Robin Hood, of whom our historian speaks in guarded terms:

> This yere alsoo was quyk & comon talking of a man which exercysid many pagentis afftir the comon ffame of the people, of Robyn hood, But among he Robbid and dyd sundry ffelonyes to the grete hurt of Sundry of the kyngis subgectis, The which soo contynuyng lastly abowth midsomyr he was takyn & hys company Scalid, This was namyd Grenelieff, but what becam of hym the certaynte was not opynly knowyn, albe It that sundry talys were told of hym which as uncertayn I ovyr passe.[16]

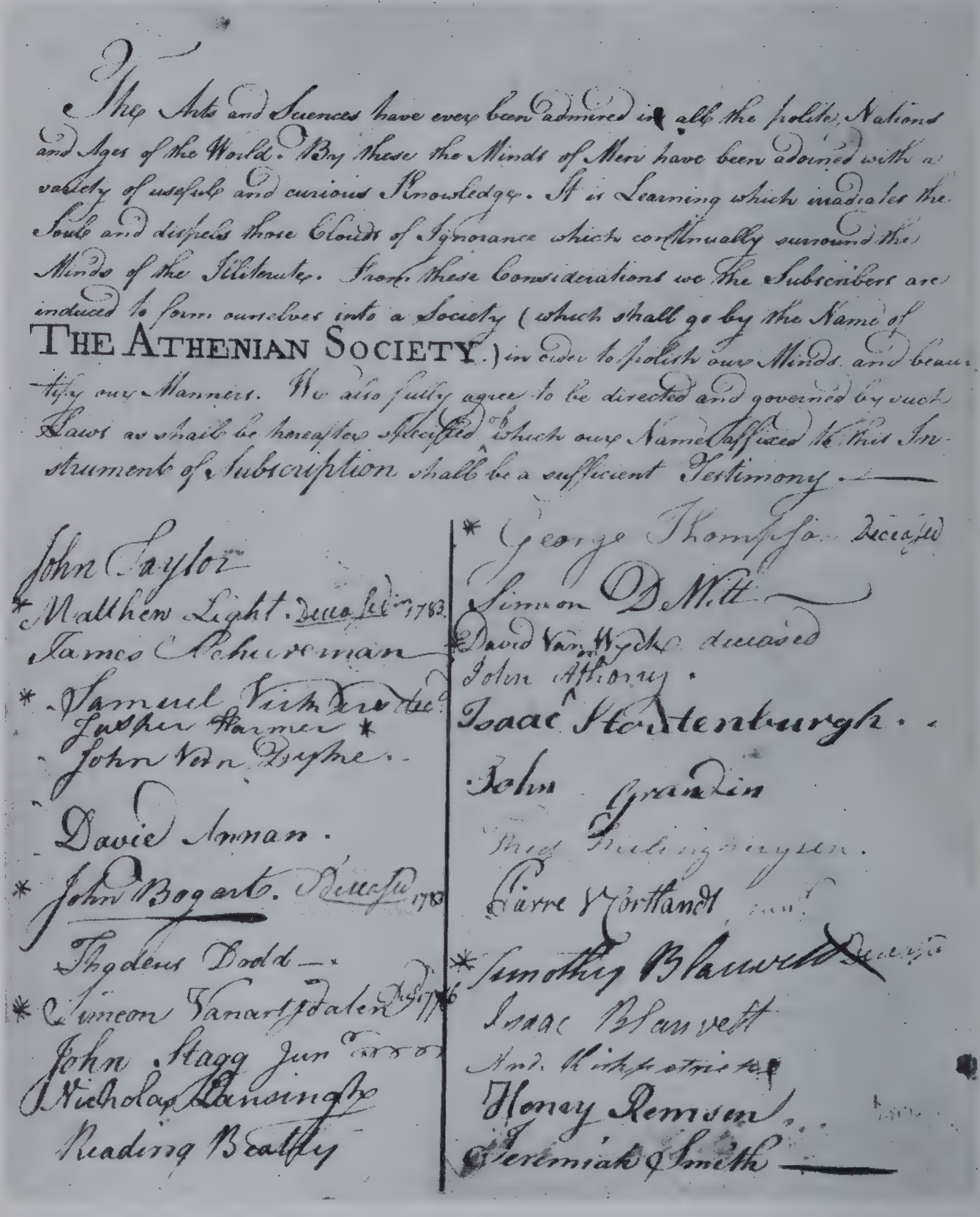
"No contemporary source," say the editors, "presents so interesting and complete an account of the attack on the City by the Bastard of Fauconberg as does *The Great Chronicle*."[17] Though the date, 1471, takes us back in time, two passages from this narrative belong here as bearing upon the poor. The first is just after the landing of the Bastard in Kent:

> Whereof the ffame being blowyn Into Essex, The ffaynt husbandys cast ffrom theym theyr sharp Sythys and armyd theym wuth theyr wyvis smokkis chese clothis and old shetis and wepenyd theym wyth hevy & grete/Clubbys and long pycchfforkis and asshyn stavys, and soo In all haast sped theym toward london, makyng their avaunt as they went that they wold be Revengid upon the mayer ffor settyng of soo easy penyworthis of their Buttyr Chese Eggis piggis & all other vytayll, and soo Joyned theym unto the kentysh men.[18]

And, after the insurrection was quelled: "Such as were Rych were hangid by the purs, and the othir that were needy were hangid by the nekkis."[19]

Reference has already been made to the excellence of editing and printing and the handsome appearance of this work. The introduction and notes are full, and marked by critical research and scholarship. There are two indexes, one to the manuscript chronicle to 1496, apparently contemporary with the writing of the chronicle, the other, most satisfactory to use, to the printed edition. There is also a glossary. In the transcription, the editors have given the marginal and interpolated notes of the manuscript as well as the folio numbers. There are included in the volume ten facsimile pages to illustrate points of interest about the manuscript.

[16] G. C., p. 319. [17] G. C., p. lxxiv. [18] G. C., p. 218. [19] G. C., p. 221.



The Arts and Sciences have ever been admired in all the polite Nations and Ages of the World. By these the Minds of Men have been adorned with a variety of useful and curious Knowledge. It is Learning which irradiates the Soule and dispells those Clouds of Ignorance which continually surround the Minds of the Illiterate. From these Considerations we the Subscribers are induced to form ourselves into a Society (which shall go by the Name of THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY.) in order to polish our Minds and beautify our Manners. We also fully agree to be directed and governed by such Laws as shall be hereafter Specified. Which our Names affixed to this Instrument of Subscription shall be a sufficient Testimony.

John Taylor
* Matthew Light. Decd Feb 1763.
James Scheurman
* Samuel Vis[illegible] dec[illegible]
Jasper Farmer *
John Van Dyke
David Arman.
* John Bogart. Decd Feb 1780
Theodorus Bodd
* Simeon Vanartsdalen Decd 1776
John Stagg Jun
Nicholas Banaingh
Reading Beatty

* George Thompson Deceased
Simon De Mott
* David Van Wyck deceased
John Athony.
Isaac Hardenburgh.
John Grandin
[illegible]
Pierre Voorhees
* Timothy Blauvelt Deceased
Isaac Blauvelt
And. Kirkpatrick
Henry Remsen
Jeremiah Smith

SIGNATURES OF MEMBERS
From *Transactions of The Athenian Society*

# THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE

*By* MILDRED R. WOODWARD

*Cut off from easy access to the outside world, the boys of the eighteenth-century American college had to find whatever intellectual stimulation they could in their own circle of friends. The old minute book of* The Athenian Society *reveals to such an inquiring student as Miss Woodward, a junior at the New Jersey College for Women, a stirring picture of the intellectual life which the students of Queen's College made for themselves during the Revolution and for a few years thereafter. It contains, furthermore, what we believe to be the earliest reference to a library at Rutgers, the modest beginning from which the present University Library may have grown.*

THANKS to a friend of the University, the story of Rutger's oldest literary society—probably its first undergraduate organization—has at last been disclosed. We have known that in the early years of Queen's College there was a group called the Athenian Society; it was mentioned briefly in *The John Bogart Letters*.[1] But when the Society was begun, who were its members, what were its activities, how long it continued—all this, until three years ago, remained a mystery. Then came the gift of the Reverend Dr. George B. Kinkead of Washington, D. C., who presented to the University the old minute book of the Athenian Society, covering almost, if not quite, the full period of its existence.

This volume, browned with age but well preserved, bears the title *Transactions of the Athenian Society from the year 1776 to 1786*. Its pages, nearly 200 in number, are alive with notes of unusual historic interest. In addition to the list of 54 members, whose signatures are appended to the declaration of purpose, the "laws and regulations" of the Society, together with the "orders" adopted and the accounts of the various meetings, throw a new light upon early student life at Old Queen's.

We have not the complete story of all that happened to the book through the 150 years following the Society's close. It appears to have passed through the hands of Colonel John Taylor, tutor of Queen's, who headed the membership list, and the Reverend Henry Kollock, a graduate of Princeton, who

[1] *The John Bogart Letters*, New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University, 1914.

was a son of Shepard Kollock, the famous New Jersey printer. Above Kollock's signature on the title page is this inscription: "This Book was presented to me this day by Colonel John Taylor, for whom I entertain the utmost esteem. Oct. 24, 1792." Years later it came into the possession of a person related by marriage to the family of William Crooke, a member of the Society, who gave it to Dr. Kinkead. Dr. Kinkead appreciated the interest the volume would have for Rutgers and returned it to the place of its origin.

The precise date of the founding of the Society is not given. The minutes cover the period from May 28, 1776, to October 4, 1786, but from an entry of "orders" adopted on November 24, 1773, we conclude that it existed at least three years earlier than the minutes indicate. It follows, therefore, that the Society must have begun within the first two years after the opening of the College in November, 1771. Among the members was Matthew Leydt, the first graduate of Queen's, sole member of the class of 1774. The Athenian Society, therefore, antedated by at least three years the Phi Beta Kappa Society, founded at William and Mary on December 5, 1776.

At all of the nine colonial colleges, indeed, literary societies were getting under way during this period. Besides the Athenian Society, there was at Queen's the Polemical Society as early as 1778, but little more is known of it than the name. At Princeton, New Jersey's other colonial college, Aaron Burr had been prominent in establishing the Whig Club in 1769, and a year later James Madison had been one of the founders of the Cliosophic Society. A Speaking Club was organized at Harvard in 1770, while Columbia, then King's College, had a debating society as early as 1766, and Yale had one in 1768. Brown, Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth also had their literary clubs.

It may reasonably be inferred that the founders of the Society patterned its aims and ideals after those of the College. The royal charter, granted in 1766 and amended in 1770, established Queen's College "for the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices."[2] In similar vein the purpose of the Athenian Society was set forth as follows:

[2] Demarest, William H. S., *A History of Rutgers College*, New Brunswick, 1924, p. 75.

The Arts and Sciences have ever been admired in all the polite Nations and Ages of the World. By these the Minds of Men have been adorned with a variety of useful and curious Knowledge. It is Learning which irradiates the Soul and dispels those Clouds of Ignorance which continually surround the Minds of the Illiterate. From these Considerations we the Subscribers are induced to form ourselves into a Society (which shall go by the Name of THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY.) in order to polish our Minds, and beautify our Manners. We also fully agree to be directed and governed by such Laws as shall be hereafter specified of which our Names affixed to this Instrument of Subscription shall be a sufficient Testimony.[3]

The years of the Athenian Society's existence must have been busy ones indeed. Meetings were held every Wednesday evening in a college room. Each member who did not attend a meeting was fined a sum not exceeding six pence, while those who were late had to pay two pence.

Let us sit in on one of the meetings of the Society as it is recorded for us by the secretary:

1781, New Brunswick, Wednesday Evening, July 18th, the Athenian Society met and proceeded to business. Mr. Taylor President. Mr. Henry Vice President. Mr. Vice President opened the Society by speaking on Happiness, his own composition.

Composers. Mr. Best read on filial Piety.
Mr. Freligh read the Character of a Miser.
Mr. Henry Junr. read on Hypocrisy.
Mr. Bogart read on Witchcraft.
Mr. Best spoke from the United States Magazine.
Readers. Mr. Morris read from the Roman Antiquities.
Mr. Stewart read from Spectator.
Mr. Kirkpatrick read from Voltair.
Mr. Freligh spoke from the Art of Speaking.
Mr. Henry Junr. spoke from the Preceptor.
Mr. Morris spoke from Addisons Cato.
Mr. Kirkpatrick spoke from Thompsons Seasons.
Mr. Bogart spoke an Elogium on General Washington.
Mr. Stewart spoke from Voltair.

Messrs. Schureman, Van Harlingen, Cortlandt & Crooke absent. Then the Society was dismissed.

How fine it would be if the secretary had recorded the minutes less topically and less tersely, and had given, for instance, a description of Mr. Bogart's reading on witchcraft, or Mr.

[3] In all quotations from *Transactions of the Athenian Society*, the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization appear here as in the original. The pages are not numbered.

Henry's opinion of hypocrisy, for here men were being trained for the fields which lay before them, and we wonder just how the material presented at meetings helped them or affected their opinions. Here were young men destined to become leaders in public life—in law, in education, in the church. To John Bogart, a graduate of 1778, "fell the honor of keeping Queen's College alive during the dark days of the Revolution,"[4] for after his graduation he became tutor at the College. Simeon De Witt, Bogart's close friend, was later to become a mathematician, philosopher, and geographer-general on Washington's staff. Another member, Jeremiah Smith, of the class of 1780, was Congressman from 1791 to 1799, and subsequently governor of New Hampshire. The faculty, too, was represented in the Society. Jacob R. Hardenbergh, the president, General Frederick Frelinghuysen, tutor in the College, and Andrew Kirkpatrick, tutor in the Grammar School, and later Chief Justice of New Jersey, were all members. How much, we wonder, might the stimulating hours spent in the Society's rooms have inspired these men to future achievement, and otherwise shaped their careers?

The meetings followed the same general plan shown by the minutes of this one until debating became a part of the exercises of the Society in February, 1782. Thereafter the meeting was begun with a statement of a question by one of the members, following which two members spoke and the subject for disputation was argued. Then two other members talked, and several read from such authors as Swift, Æsop, Addison, Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, and Chesterfield. During the last part of each meeting the other members also spoke. At the time of the introduction of debating, it was ordered

> that disputation be introduced and henceforth considered and appointed as one of the stated exercises of the Athenian Society, to be carried on and regulated in the manner following. viz. That at every stated meeting of the Society it shall be lawful for any member to propose a subject for disputation which if approved by the President, shall be entered on the minutes, and that the person so proposing shall have the privilege of choosing the side of the question.

In keeping with the spirit of the times, the discussions frequently touched upon issues of the war, for example, a speech on liberty, a letter to a Tory, a speech concerning the future

[4] *The John Bogart Letters*, p. 39.

glories of America, and a reading on patriotism. Other related topics included an address to General Washington, a reading on the origin of war, and a speech on the horrors of war. Perhaps the disputations aroused more patriotic interest than the readings and speeches, for what student of that day would not have disputed over "Wether the Americans who have joined the British Army, should be permitted to return to this Country and enjoy its Liberties," or "Whether the Continuation of the War is to be preferred before a peace short of the absolute Independence of America."

Of a more peaceful character are the opinions of the place of social life in the mind and interest of the student which are reflected in readings, speeches, and debates. Topics included the reading of a letter to a young lady, a piece on marriage, a speech against matrimony, speeches on love, and the reading of an excerpt on dancing. Certainly such subjects as "Wether Dancing is a necessary Accomplishment to a Young Gentleman," "Wether the Company of the Ladies of virtuous Character is disadvantageous to a person in his Studies or not," and "Whether Love is an interested or a disinterested Passion" are all topics that are disputed and discussed by students of today, though their vocabularies are very different.

We too wish "to polish our Minds, and beautify our Manners," though we would not spend evenings discussing the art of speaking, generosity, sociableness, friendship, fidelity, the improvement of life, our duty to neighbors, and the modern manner of spending the Sabbath. We might very well give our attention, however, to "The Head-dress of the Ladies," listen with interest to an "Address to those who practice horse racing," and enter into discussions roused by such questions as these: "Is travelling advantageous to Person of a liberal Education?" "That Reputation is preferable to life," "That the Dictates of Conscience ought not to be followed in all Cases," and "Wether the Advantage arising from the Study of the dead Languages will compensate for the time spent in acquiring a knowledge of them."

The laws of the Society are indeed amusing when compared with those of present-day societies. For example, "No Person shall be admitted into this Society, who is of a known vicious character, and who might in any measure disgrace it by being

a Member." Members were admitted by ballot, and each, upon his entrance, was required to pay ten shillings. At first, all members took their turns as president, but later this law was repealed, and the president also was elected by ballot.

Other laws prescribed conduct at meetings:

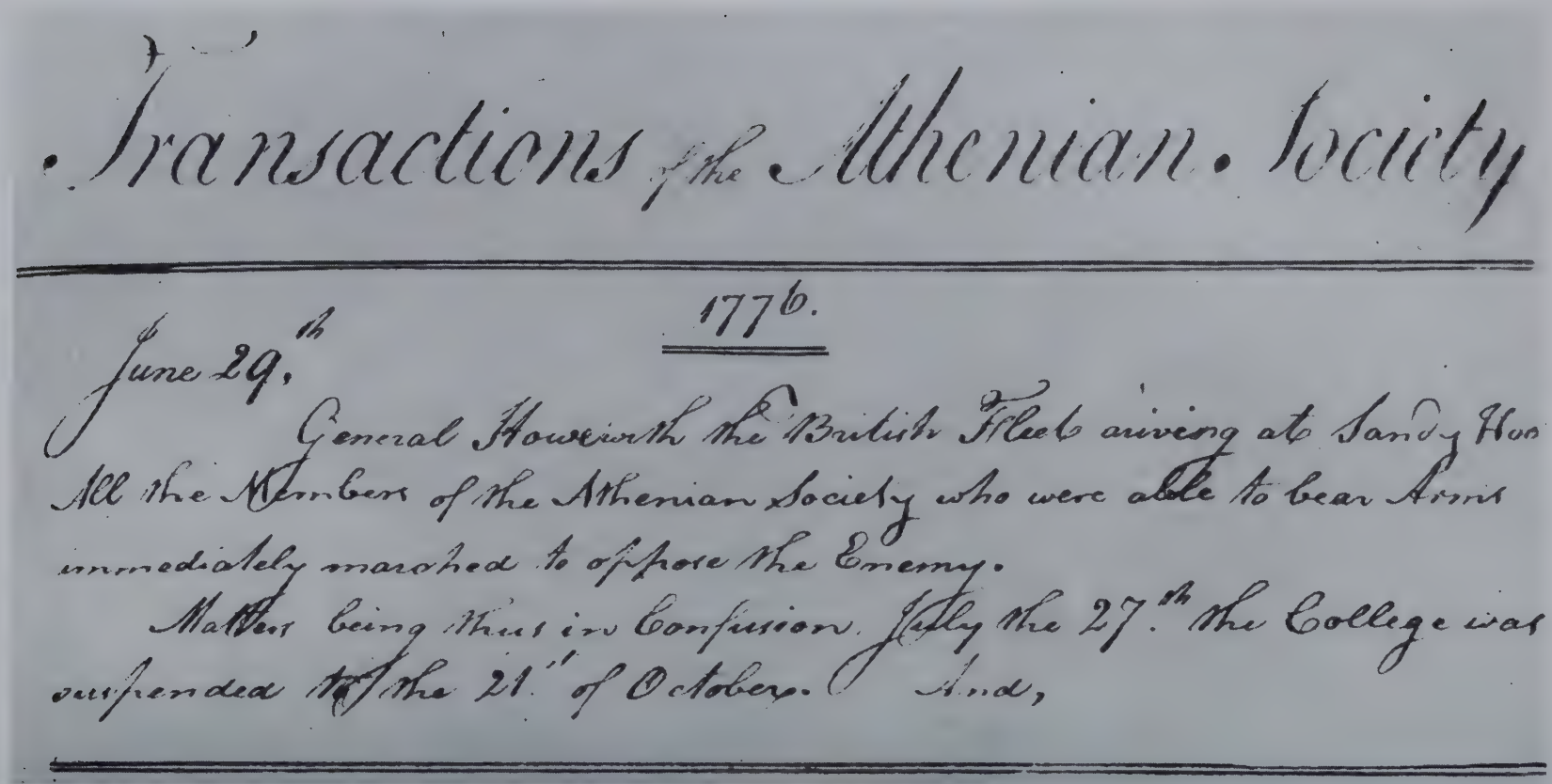
> Every Member shall rise up when he speaks and always address the President. Nor shall any two Persons speak at once, upon the penalty of two pence for each offence. Everyone shall be allowed to make his Remarks upon the performance of each Member provided it is with Candour, and if any Person shall be deemed ungenerous in his Observations by a majority of the Members he shall be punished in a fine not exceeding two Shillings. . . . No Member shall make his Remarks untill asked by the President unless it is with his permission, on penalty of three pence. . . . No private Conversation or even Whispering shall be allowed in the Society, unless leave be obtained from the President. . . . No Member shall leave his Seat without permission from the President, on penalty of two pence. . . . No Person shall speak above four times upon any particular Debate raised in the Society, without leave from the President on penalty of two pence.

On various occasions throughout the life of the Society, orders were passed which modified the laws or made new ones. These cast additional light upon the Society's activities. Among the new laws are those which stated

> that the Society be opened by an Oration either from the President or some one of its Members, that nearly one half of the Members read from some aproved Author, while the others read peices of their own composition, that each person speak every evening, that four members speak immediately after the Composers have read their peices, that no spirituous liquors be drank during the setting of the Society.

Not the least of the Society's achievements was the founding of a library. The laws and regulations provided for the appointment of a librarian who should "attend at the Library every Monday from one to two o'clock in the Afternoon." It was his duty to "keep an exact account of all Monies belonging to the Library, as also of all Books when taken out and when returned." A person "guilty of a breach of any regulation of the Library" was fined two shillings. The librarian, too, had to pay a penalty if any book was lost or damaged through his carelessness or neglect. To support the library each member was assessed a fee of one dollar yearly.

THE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS



Transactions of the Athenian Society

1776.

June 29th General Howe with the British Fleet arriving at Sandy Hook All the Members of the Athenian Society who were able to bear Arms immediately marched to oppose the Enemy.

Matters being thus in Confusion, July the 27th the College was suspended to the 21st of October. And,

THE ATHENIAN SOCIETY GOES TO WAR

In the midst of these peaceful proceedings we are suddenly presented with a picture of college students leaving their classrooms to take up arms against the British. In the minutes of June 29, 1776, only a few days before independence was declared, the secretary wrote the following:

> General Howe with the British Fleet ariving at Sandy Hook All the Members of the Athenian Society who were able to bear Arms immediately marched to oppose the Enemy. Matters being thus in Confusion July the 27th, the College was suspended to the 21st. of October.

Late in that year it was recorded that

> The British Army under the command of General Howe having invaded the State of New Jersey, and penetrating as far as the City of New Brunswick on the first day of December in the year 1776. The Members of the Athenian Society still inspired by Patriotism, and zealous to promote the interests of America, leaving their peaceable abodes, again assisted their Countrymen to repel an Enemy endeavouring to establish a System of Tyranny and Oppression.

Meetings were not held again until the spring of 1778, when by an order of the faculty the College was moved to North Branch. At that time a number of the former members assembled and resumed business.

On two other occasions the Society was forced to suspend meetings, once when General Clinton's march through the state in June, 1778, was halted at the Battle of Monmouth, and again on January 3, 1781, when the Society was meeting in the town of Hillsborough, "in consequence of a mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line and their marching through this place."

Apparently the Society never fully recovered from the distractions of war. According to the record, no meetings were held from 1783 until October 1, 1786, when "the Society met after an Interval of almost three Years and took into consideration, the means of reviving the Institution." Only one meeting was held after this. On October 4 the secretary made the final entry which marked the passing of the Athenian Society:

> ALAS! These Resolutions are like the Morning Cloud.——
> ATHENIANS! ATHENIANS you are no more.——
> From your ashes has arisen the Federal Society, and may it long exist and be a mean[s] of Instruction to many.

# FRENEAU'S "VIEW" OF PRINCETON

*By* Rudolf Kirk

Pine hill, the highest point in Monmouth County, New Jersey, has long been noted for the fine view it commands of the surrounding country. Early in the nineteenth century a telescope, still remembered by old inhabitants, was set up on top of the hill. Today, however, no sign remains of this effort of our forefathers to get a bird's-eye-view of their native farms, though, as Mr. John Forman, who guided me up to the top of the hill, pointed out, the United States Geodetic Survey thinks the spot worthy of a bench mark.

Sometime on or before September 25, 1822, an old man filled with the poetry of the eighteenth century, ascended this hill to gaze through the telescope. In the distance he saw Nassau Hall and was reminded of the days when he had been an undergraduate at Princeton. Moved by these thoughts, he wrote an *Ode on a Remote Perspective View of Princeton College*. This poem he sent to the Trenton *True American*, where it appeared on October 26, 1822, over the initial "R," and also to the New Brunswick *Fredonian*, where it was printed on October 31, over the initials "N. R." In these now very rare newspapers it has lain neglected ever since that time.

The question at once arises, who was the author? Apparently he was a poet of some distinction, for his poem, though at times rhetorical and rather crude, is better than could have been written by most American poets of the period. Since the poet mentions the fact that he studied under President Witherspoon, who went to Princeton in 1768, and since he speaks of having known the College before Independence was declared, the possible period of his attendance there can be narrowed down to a span of eight years, 1768 to 1776. As is clear from the date at the end of the long title of the *Ode*, September 25, 1822—presumably the day on which he looked through the telescope on Pine Hill—the poet was living half a century after he left college. Of all the students who graduated from Princeton within those eight years, fewer than thirty were still alive in 1822. Of these Philip Freneau, of the Class of 1771, is the

only one known to have been a poet. At the time the poem was written he was living in a house on the family estate in Monmouth County, near Pine Hill—the ancestral home, Mount Pleasant, having been burnt to the ground in 1818. His great days as a poet had passed; plans for publishing a "new, correct, and elegant edition of the Poems and Miscellanies of Philip Freneau" had come to nothing. As an impoverished and rather disappointed old man of seventy, he still continued to write occasional poems, a number of which he contributed to the *Fredonian* during this very year 1822 over the initial "F."[1] From these various bits of evidence, we may be fairly sure that Freneau was the author of the *Ode*, in spite of the initials signed at the end. Further assurance as to the correctness of this supposition comes from Professor Lewis Leary, now engaged in a comprehensive study of Freneau. He writes me that the poem is Freneau's and that in his forthcoming book he will explain why the author signed it as he did.

The literary form of the *Ode on a Remote Perspective View of Princeton College* was clearly inspired by Thomas Gray's *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, which Freneau doubtless memorized as a boy in his father's extensive library at Mount Pleasant. Not only is the subject similar to that of the English poem and the title a paraphrase of Gray's, but the form of Freneau's stanzas is adapted from the *Distant Prospect of Eton College*. It is worth noting that though Freneau takes over Gray's form, he does so without slavish imitation, and in the *Ode* he describes the New Jersey scenery from his own direct observation. When looking back to the days of his youth, he adds to the eighteenth-century tradition which he inherited a fresh and personal view of the Princeton of his college days.

The text of the *Ode* here printed follows in most cases the spelling, punctuation, and italics of the text in the New Brunswick *Fredonian* of October 31, 1822, in the Rutgers Library. Misprints have been corrected and a few variant readings adopted from the text as given in the Trenton *True American* of October 26, 1822, in the New Jersey State Library at Trenton. Professor Lawrance Thompson of Princeton has made several helpful suggestions concerning the text.

[1] See "Philip Freneau at Seventy," by Lewis Leary, *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, I, 2 (June, 1938).

# ODE

On a remote *Perspective* view of Princeton College, or Nassau Hall, from a remarkable woody Eminence in Monmouth county, called by the neighborhood, Pine Hill.—Sept. 25th 1822.

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*The expanse above no cloud deforms,*
*No mists obscure the day;*
*So, mounting to this hill of storms,*
*We take our social way.*
*Amanda shall partake the Glass*
*To observe the seniors as they pass,*
*Who toiling for the first degree*
*The time is come that sets them free,*
*Dispersive of the class.*

---

Where *Millstone's* stream, in swampy Groves
Collects its limpid rills,
And where the infant current roves
Amidst its parent hills,
The *Hill of pines* exalts its head,
And towering near the River's bed,
Gives many a distant sky-topt view
In coloured heights of misty blue
In wild disorder spread.

Among the rest, but far remote,
We *Princeton's* summit scan,
And verdent plains which there denote
The energies of man:
By aid of art's *Perspective Glass*
O'er many a woody vale we pass;
The *glass* attracts, and brings more near
What first, to naked vision here,
Seem'd a chaotic mass.

Line 5. Freneau wrote many poems to Amanda.

10. The Millstone River flows in a northwesterly direction toward Princeton and nowadays runs through Lake Carnegie. Freneau's view toward Princeton from Pine Hill was almost exactly along its course.

12. *Fredonian* reads *flows* for *roves*.

20. In clear frosty weather the College and Theological Hall are plainly discernible from this hill, particularly at Sunrising by the reflection of the Sun's rays from the Glass windows. *Freneau's note.*—This note is omitted in the *True American*.

And there we trace, from far displayed,
  The muses favorite seat,
And groves, within whose bowery shade
  The Sons of science meet.
*Devotion* to her altars calls
In plainly decorated halls—
Those walls engage the *Athenian* muse
Where Science, still, her course pursues—
  Those venerated walls!

In *Galen's* art, who took the lead,
  *That Pile* was seen to rear,
And some who *preach* and some who *plead*,
  First courted *Science* there—
To meliorate the human soul,
The fiercest passions to control,
Is the great purpose *there* designed,
Where *Merit* never failed to find
  The *diplomatic Roll.*

Departed days shall we recall
  Or cancel half an age
When governed, once, at Nassau Hall
  The *Caledonian* Sage
His words still vibrate on my ear
His precepts, solemn and severe,
Alarmed the vicious, and the base,
To virtue gave the loveliest face
  That human-kind can wear.

From distant soils, and towns remote,
  Attracted by his name,
And some by land, and some afloat,
  The eager Students came.
Each swarming *hive* was on the wing
To taste his deep *Pierian* spring,
And round the LAMP, that near it hung,
While sense and reason yet were young
  They strove to merit fame.

32. *True American* reads *Religion* for *Devotion.*
38. Nassau Hall, the oldest building at Princeton.
42. *T. A.* reads *fiercer* or *fiercest.*
45. *Fredonian* reads *His* for *The.*
45. The Degree of Batchelor, or Master of Arts. *Freneau's note.*
49. The late President Witherspoon, who was invited over from Scotland in 1766. *F.'s note.*
49. *T. A.* reads *sober but severe* for *solemn and severe.*
55–63. This entire stanza is omitted in the *T. A.*

What years on years have stole away
  Since, mirthful, there were seen
The Students of a former day
  Diverting on the Green!—
Before *Columbia* struck the blow
That humbled *Britain's* legions low;
When *Washington* was scarcely named,
Nor *Independence*, yet, proclaimed
  To mark her for a foe.

When *Christmas* came, and floods congeal
  And keen northwesters blew,
Adown the ice on springs of steel
  The sprightly Juniors flew:
They left the page of Grecian lore,
Ceased Nature's wonders to explore,
And gliding on the glassy plain,
At *Morven's* grove they paused—again
  Lost vigour to restore.

Ah, years elapsed, and seasons gone;
  And days forever fled,
When hymns were sung at early dawn,
  And sacred Lectures read!
Still Fancy hears the midnight prayer,
Monitions mild—when, free from care,
When smit with awe, the attentive train
Renounced the world, or owned it vain
  With penitential tear.

With pensive step, amidst those hills
  *Who*, now, are seen to stray,
Where *Stony Brook* or *Scudder's Mills*
  Engaged some vacant day?

74. *T. A.* reads *fierce* for *keen.*
77. *T. A.* reads *learned* for *Grecian.*
80. *Morven's.* A pleasant summer house retreat on the Western bank of Stony River, belonging to the late Hon. Richard Stockton Esq. *Freneau's note.*—This house is still standing.
91. *T. A.* reads *lonely* for *pensive.*
91. *T. A.* reads *amid* for *amidst.*
93. Stony Brook meanders around the west and south of the town of Princeton and nowadays flows into Lake Carnegie.
93. Scudder's Mills, later known as Aqueduct Mills, were situated at the junction of the Millstone River and Stony Brook. Lake Carnegie now covers the site.
94. *Fredonian* reads *the* for *some.*

What favourite *Laura* trips the lawn,
Enamoured of the classic gown,
*Now* claims acquaintance with the Muse,
And half avoids, or half pursues
  Some *Petrarch* from the town?

Farewell ye shades, farewell ye streams
  That will for ages flow,
Where *other minds* plan *other schemes*
  For *consequence* below!
This *tube* displays where, with the rest,
On *Euclid's* page not over blest,
We closed our Books, forgot our cares,
To stray where *Rocky Mountain* rears
  His weather-beaten crest.

Rude Cliff's adieu! that *craggy height*
  Too long our view confines;
We tread with more serene delight
  This pleasant *Hill of Pines*,
Where *they*, who, near its shaded base,
For years have had their dwelling place,
  Contented to retire,
Yet rarely climb its lofty brow
Or leave the axe, or quit the plough
  *To adore the sacred Spire!*

N. R.

95. *Fredonian* reads *where* for *what.*
95. *Fredonian* reads *of* for *trips.*
96. *Fredonian* reads *with* for *of.*
104. *Fredonian* omits *the.*
105. *Fredonian* reads *the blest.*
106. *T. A.* reads *left* for *closed.*
107. The name of a range of hills about two miles north of Princeton.
112. The ancient Pines, however, are now almost totally decayed, and fallen down; and a grove of Oak has taken their place. *Freneau's note.*
118. The spire of Nassau Hall.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

## *The Dinner of May 12, 1939*

ON MAY 12, 1939, two years after their organization, the Associated Friends gathered in the dining room of the Hotel Roger Smith for a social evening and a general appraisal of its work to date. The committee in charge of preparations, under the chairmanship of Dr. L. Ethan Ellis, had spent many weeks in planning the program and arranging the practical details. After dinner, and before introducing the speakers, Dr. William H. S. Demarest, the toastmaster, described briefly the purposes of the Associated Friends and commented on its activities. He then called on Professor Donald F. Cameron, the Secretary, who began by outlining the rapid growth in membership of the Associated Friends and dwelt particularly on the interest taken in the group by collectors, antiquarians, and others having specialized interests. He spoke of the wide circulation of *The Journal*, not only to the members but to ninety-five libraries and fifty-five learned societies and periodicals. He continued by telling of the notable increase in the collections of the Library which has resulted from the work of the Associated Friends, and he expressed particular appreciation of the part played in this work by the younger members of the alumni of the University. He also spoke of several important gifts which the Library has received, and he told of the efforts put forth by a group of friends to buy a number of items at the Boggs sale in 1938. He concluded:

> With our old friends still loyal and with an increasing number of younger members, there is little doubt that we can make the Rutgers Library one of outstanding importance and render to the University, to New Jersey, and to the nation a distinguished contribution in the preservation of important records and in the advancement of scholarship.

After the Secretary had read his report, Dr. Demarest called on Mr. Nelson Dunham, the Treasurer, for a statement on the financial condition of the association. Mr. Dunham said that the principal outlay had been for publishing *The Journal*, though some money had been used to assist the Library in the purchase of books and other materials. Fortunately, contribu-

tions have kept ahead of these expenses, but the margin has never been wide.

Dr. Demarest next called for the report of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year. Mr. Roger H. McDonough, the chairman, said that the committee proposed that those in office continue their work and nominated Mr. I. Robert Kriendler, of the Class of 1936, to take the place of the late Dr. Jacob G. Lipman. The nominations were adopted.

When the business of the evening was completed, Dr. Demarest introduced Dr. Gabriel Wells, the Honorary President of the Associated Friends, who, after welcoming the Friends and their guests, made brief remarks "On Education." Since Dr. Wells' paper has already been separately published, we shall not reprint it here. The Secretary of the Associated Friends, however, will gladly send copies to those who request them.

Following Dr. Wells, President Clothier addressed the group. He spoke particularly of Mr. Osborn who for so many years has fostered the ideals of Rutgers by his wise conduct of the Library. Dr. Clothier continued by presenting his idea of the function of the Library in the University, and he stressed particularly the triangular need for the books, the teacher, the student—these three he believed essential to the making of a great university.

Dr. Lane Cooper, of the Class of 1896, for many years professor of the English language and literature in Cornell University, then spoke on "The place of the Library." His paper, slightly revised for publication, is reproduced in full in this number of *The Journal* immediately after these notes on the Associated Friends.

### *New Members*

During the summer the total number of members of the Associated Friends was increased to 323 by the addition of six names:

Barnet J. Beyer
W. L. R. Haines, '99
Edward Huberman, '29
Edward V. Lipman, '33
Mary W. McConaughy
Philip C. Thomas, '94

*Gifts*

Again the Library is indebted to the Graduate School of Banking for a generous gift from the graduating class. This year eight hundred and fifty dollars was raised for the purchase of books on economics and banking. As in the past, this sum is invested and the interest derived from it is used by the Library to buy books which are recommended by the Department of Economics.

We are glad to acknowledge gifts from the following persons, and we only wish that space permitted us to describe each one in detail:

Eugene E. Agger
Charles S. Aitkin, '80
Charles L. Allen
Carl F. Bayerschmidt
Philander Betts, III, '91
John H. Birss
Mrs. Wm. M. Boyd
Sigmund Brodsky
Samuel E. Burr, '19
Robert C. Clothier
William H. Cole
Hiram E. Deats
W. H. S. Demarest, '83
Mrs. Ada J. English
Alexander S. Graham
Max Gideonse
E. Byrne Hackett
Mrs. Frances N. Hall
John A. Hayes
Charles F. Heartman
Alan E. James, '28
Wm. H. Kirk
Rudolf Kirk
Robert B. Littell, '95
Walter T. Marvin
Albert E. Meder
Herbert J. Metzger
Thomas J. Murray
Roy F. Nichols, '18
George A. Osborn, '97
Dr. and Mrs. Eliot R. Payson
Victor H. Paltsits
Cullen W. Parmelee, '96
Clarence E. Partch
Harold E. Pickersgill
Dr. and Mrs. John H. Raven, '91
Frederick J. Sickles
Emory P. Starke
Anna S. Starr
John L. Stillwell, '79
Frank H. Stobaeus, '08
Walter H. Stowe
Agnes W. Storer
William L. Strong
Louis A. Voorhees, '85
Oscar M. Voorhees, '88
John P. Wall
Gabriel Wells
Percival Wilde
J. Alfred Wilson, '97
Donald J. Wing
Gustav F. Wittig, '96
Carl R. Woodward, '14
Ralph G. Wright

# THE PLACE OF THE LIBRARY

*Addressed to the Associated Friends, May 12, 1939*

*By* Lane Cooper

When we say 'the place' of the heart or head among the parts of the body, we mean also the function of the head or heart, what it does in its place. And similarly if we speak of the place of Rutgers Library, as it were the head, or the place of Kirkpatrick Chapel, the heart, we also mean the function of the Library or Chapel in the University, what each does or ought to do in its place. The function of the Library, of course, means the function of the books that speak to us in such a place. Thus we come to the place of a speaker, which likewise involves his function; and by 'speaker' we clearly must mean the author of any discourse and of any book as well. Speakers, then, may and do speak of any one or more of three things, though in general they ought to limit themselves to one. A speaker may talk of himself; the duller and less well-prepared they are, the more they do it. Or he may talk of his audience to win or flatter it; most often that is morally worse than egocentric speaking. It is enough to say 'Our Father,' or 'Our Alma Mater,' 'hallowed be thy name,' or 'Friends, it is good for us to be here,' and then get on to Number three. For, thirdly, when the brief preliminaries are over, and the audience is quiet, the speaker should talk about his subject; he should not continue flattering the audience, or keep prating about Number one, or mixing Number one and Number three together—as 'the "Lusitania" and I,' 'I and the League of Nations,' 'I' and some sort of 'deal,' whether 'square' or new and raw and a crack-pot, jack-pot deal. Like Homer, he should talk of Number three, the War, or whatever his subject may be, the Battle of the Books perhaps, or their war against vulgarity and meanness, and should say as little as he can about himself. To-night when we have to do with libraries and books we should remember that the best books in a library are not about their authors, and do not flatter the reader, but keep the interest up on Number three.

Under Number three there are four main things that a speaker may discuss, and of course all four are things that men discuss in books, and hence a library must contain some books about all four. A general library should not be lacking in books of any of the classes, four, that we here have in mind. It happens that all four subjects are mentioned in the right perspective in Psalm 8: 'O Lord, our Lord, . . . when I consider thy Heavens, . . . what is Man? . . . Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels.' The four things, then, that books can deal with are God, man, spirits other than God and man, and, fourthly, the physical universe, the world, so called, of nature. The same four things are mentioned in a similar perspective by Hamlet in soliloquy, where Shakespeare makes him talk in Hamlet's talkative way about the starry heavens as a roof fretted with golden fire, of man as in action like an angel, and even of man as in apprehension like a god. We might go on to Dante, Milton, and Wordsworth, and to writers of our day who may seem to have a different perspective, but the main result would be the same. A man or book may talk more of God, or more of man, or more of spirits good and bad, or more about the heavens and the universe (including animated nature), but man cannot talk of any other thing, for there is nothing else to talk about; so that even if a writer tried to prove that none of them existed—no God, no man, no spirits whatsoever, and no nature, the subjects he could talk about would still be four. It may be thought that books and speakers of late have tended to neglect the most important of the four. Ruskin said of his own generation, not so long ago, that there never had been an age so fitly described as his age was by the Biblical phrase, 'without God in the world.' What would Ruskin say of our age if he were writing now? Yet God turns up, like his angel of death, in places where men least expect him. As the rabble-rouser at Cologne let slip before he knew it the statement that he was the Moses of his people, so even the same loud speaker names his god not Woden or Thor, but Providence, while other neo-pagans call on God to punish England. Nor is God utterly forgotten in the 'concentration-camps.' And, thanks to Pastor Niemöller in a 'concentration-camp,' many people everywhere are thinking more of Somebody they had for a while lost sight of.

Again, it may be thought that recent books have little to say of angels good or bad; that books are nowadays more often concerned with man, and that the most important books are those that deal with matter, Number four, and not with spirit, which, that is, spirit, really includes the other three, God, man, and other spiritual beings. But the truth is that, to publishers, and hence no doubt to readers, the Bible, our light from Palestine, is the most important book, most often printed and reissued in numberless editions everywhere in every tongue; and that recent books on physical science have had very brief lives indeed. In their constant warfare they dislodge one another so fast that the layman hardly has time to grasp and entertain one modern concept of the universe before he is called upon to give that up and take another. Is physical light a vibratory motion in a medium or an emanation? The question is in hot debate, or was when last we heard. Meanwhile various men of science, as we call them, are returning to the concept of a spiritual First Cause of all things; sometimes their conception reminds us more of *Nous* or Mind as Anaxagoras conceived of that; sometimes even, the Intelligence they refer to may remind us of 'the Love that moves the sun and all the stars'; at length some physicist may bethink himself of the beginnings mentioned in the Old Testament and the New: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; In the beginning was the Word, the Logos, and the Word was God. We may venture to think that in a hundred or a thousand years, when men look back upon what was read and held in memory in this our year of nineteen thirty-nine, they will note that, as in eighteen thirty-nine, readers saw things in just the same perspective as did the author of Psalm 8. The Psalm is right, and has impressed itself on the collective memory of civilized mankind. What is man? Not much perhaps in comparison with the starry heavens, yet, after all, not far below the angels.

For look! He can entertain them unawares, and afterwards draw and picture them, and repeat their song. His apprehension is so far like that of God that he can feel after Him, and thus apprehend Him, and is ever learning more and more about His universe and universal reason. The books about God, man, the angels, the heavens above and earth beneath, are all of

them books of men, books written by men, and printed by men, and read by men; which means mankind, and that means women too, though by your smiling you might seem to hint I had forgotten them. They too have written and read and printed books. We do believe that the best of books proceed from men and women who have their inspiration from above, and know it, but the fact remains that books and libraries are the work of man, and, in the fourfold differentiation we have noted, clearly belong among things human. That the heavens declare the glory of God is an utterance in the tongues of men, not far below the tongues of angels.

And thus we have begun to place the library and to think about its function. A library is a place where human books are stored and used, and books are, on earth, and next to churches, the most important and lasting product of mankind. Nay, so far as they preserve eternal words, they are, like churches, the treasuries of that which will outlast all else. To take an instance from the Classics, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are still on earth when all the rest of the Aegean culture which they represent is virtually gone, or can be reconstructed in imagination only with their help. To take a nobler instance, we have it on authority that words outlast the universe of matter: Heaven and earth shall pass away, says the eternal Poet, 'but my words shall not pass away.' As for any book that we value, it has a value outlasting the life of the individual man himself. Says Milton: 'For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.' And again, Milton says: 'As good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth, but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.'

It is the function, then, of libraries and books to keep what we call civilization alive on earth while individual men are dying. Doubtless books do more than that, and if the Library is the head, it helps the heart, the Chapel, of the University, pre-

pare us also for a life above the mortal life of man. But here and now we are dealing with the Library as that intellectual organ of the University which we have called the head, and must consider its usual relation to the whole. The Library is in so far like the Chapel that it serves the whole, and not some part or parts thereof. Each several part of any organism does indeed minister to the welfare of the whole, but not all of them quite as the head and heart do. The department of history or physics works for the good of the whole by functioning well in the study and teaching of history or physics. We need not labor the point. The Library, like the Chapel, has more general functions. And as the Chapel has the highest function, and the great toe of athletics the lowest, so the Library has the one next to the highest, and, it may be said, the broadest. Its function is identical, almost, with the function of the University in the State; while the function of the Chapel is a function which the Chapel shares with another institution in the State, that is, the Church.

Then what is the main function of the University, that function which the function of the Library so nearly equals? Obviously the business of the University is the advancement of learning in learning's two main branches, the discipline or science, in its many subdivisions, which we may call the science of the spirit, and that other branch, with many subdivisions, which we may call the science of matter. Let others discuss the advancement of physical science; important as it is, its importance and total result in our time are overrated, especially by those who lack a thorough scholarly and scientific training. Of both branches we now have merely to note that the only real advertisement of a university is the well-trained men it sends out into the world, or retains within its walls; and they advertise the institution by quietly doing their appointed work, contemplative or active, throughout their life. They let their light shine; they do not bawl about their light, which after all is not their own, but, as Dante would say, Another's. Those men whom the institution retains in its own service best advertise it by publishing the fruit of their investigations. We may add that, before the days of noisy university and college advertisement, in the horse-and-buggy days of Rutgers College, she sent out the two most eminent

men, respectively in humane letters and physical science that our United States has yet to boast of, Albert S. Cook in the humanities and George W. Hill in the realm of astrophysics. Now that Rutgers University has a Press, a University Press in which the Library must have a deep concern, it might be well to make sure on the spot that certain works of men like these shall ever be kept in publication for the benefit of posterity; and I will mention in particular Cook's wonderful address, *The Artistic Ordering of Life*, which he delivered to a Rutgers audience some forty years ago, and his fine volume, *The Higher Study of English*, which is likewise out of print. The Rutgers University Press might well undertake a collective edition of his works to match the like edition of the works of Hill, in which, unfortunately, his Alma Mater did not have a hand.

On the side of the humanities, it is the business of a university to send out leaders of the State, doctors, jurists, teachers, politicians of the better sort—above all, scholars. Thereby we lovers of the Library mean productive scholars in the stricter sense, but we also mean that men who go out from a university into the learned professions should go out with an abiding interest in studies and the method of study. From the university the scientific men as they are called are likely to go out with a method they have learned in laboratories, and, we hope, from mathematics; though if they are really to be good in their own realm, they ought to know enough about the history of physical science and the history of the special branch they cultivate; and for that historical perspective which American men of science sorely need, they ought betimes to cultivate an acquaintance with the Library. When they do so, they are scholars. And the other scholars too will benefit by knowing more than most of them do about the history of science—which history should teach them that the history of scholarship and science is all one, and that the method of the scientist so-called and the so-called scholar must in essence be identical; for scholarly and scientific method are determined by the nature of the human mind, and by one universal logic which can never vary.

All the same, a library is the place of scholars. If you are looking for a special kind of game-bird, English snipe or woodcock, or for grouse or pheasants, you go to the haunt where

each is commonly to be found. And if you are hunting for scholars, go to a library, and there they are.

What is a scholar, this creature which the college and its library produce? The great geographer Ratzel, most eminent in his time and even now, this great man Ratzel used to say that any one who went out of his own door, and used his eyes, and saw what actually was to be seen, was a geographer. And so we might say that any one who goes into a library, opens a good book, and sees what actually is there, is a scholar. You may object, and say that any one who is going to read a book, and to see the truth or falsehood in it needs to bring along some special training and perhaps much knowledge. Let the book be the long epic poem of Milton. Doesn't one need some knowledge of Latin, of the Bible, and of classical mythology, if one is going to understand the *Paradise Lost* of Milton? Well, we may grant that it will help the reader of Milton if he knows the Bible, the most helpful of all books always and to all, and will do no harm to know a bit of Latin and some classical mythology. But we may doubt if Latin and mythology were what Milton had in mind when he said that he desired 'fit audience . . . though few.' He clearly shows that first of all he wishes for readers with an 'upright heart and pure.' Such readers are likely to have read the Bible. But the truth is that many a reader of *Paradise Lost* has failed, as Byron failed, to do it justice because, along with Byron, his heart was not too pure and upright. The poem really is intelligible to good people if they will only read it aloud. Milton habitually adds light enough to his allusions to help the reader on. No, as Saint Paul shows, there is something more important than great knowledge if you wish to be a scholar. Paul himself had too much knowledge of various sorts, and knew too many languages, surely at least three, to say that such things have no value, given something else. The tongues of men and of angels, and indeed all knowledge, have no value, he says, without charity or love. No doubt that love must mean the love of God, of man, of ministers of grace as Hamlet calls them, and of the lovely universe as a geographer named Milton saw it, the fourfold love implicit in Psalm 8. And no doubt Saint Paul would say the same of hope and faith, which latter we may call imagination. Without hope you cannot be a

scholar, and without imagination you cannot be anything, no matter how many languages you pretend to read, or how many bare facts you have stored up in a godless, loveless, hopeless memory. If you have these gifts, imagination, hope, and love—and they are said to be had for the asking if only you keep at it—you are likely, if you choose the life of a scholar, to acquire a knowledge of the languages and to store your treasure-house, your memory, with a great deal of other knowledge, or at all events of such other knowledge as you need; a man can hardly take up the life of a teacher, and then not decently obey the rules of the game, not study enough to publish. Apart from school, a man may be well-read in many books, as Theodore Roosevelt was, and be a scholar; or well-read through intensive knowledge of a few, the best, as Lincoln was, and be perhaps a better scholar.

We might here say somewhat more of research, and might add that no essential difference exists between discovering something new, that nobody before has known, or that everybody has forgotten, and learning something that is new to you but not to others of your generation. Here pupil and teacher meet.

In a well-conducted university the pupils necessarily must learn many things that their teachers already know, but the more the process is made to be like fresh discovery—the more it *is* fresh discovery—the better the result alike for teacher and pupil as they share it. In the circle of humanities, a sharp-eyed pupil with an upright heart and pure will on reflection often see a meaning in the work of Sophocles or Milton, or a true relation in their thoughts, that has escaped the notice of good modern editors. Meanwhile, the teachers cannot lead in the advance of learning unless they give some of their leisure to research in the stricter sense. A leader of young scholars must share in the advancement of learning by doing something for the commonwealth of scholars throughout their nation and throughout the world. It is sometimes thought by persons who know little about scholarship that great scholars are not always good teachers. I can only say that for a period of forty years I have tried to find an instance of a truly great scholar who has shown himself incapable of teaching, even of teaching little children, and for forty years this animal has eluded my

view. You can find pedants lacking in sympathy and perspective, but we do not call them scholars, for good scholars are not pedants, and we do not call a man a scholar if he lacks sympathy or perspective. The processes of learning and teaching are, in fact, so closely linked and intertwined that it is impossible to untie them. The notion that Tom, Dick, and Harry have concerning poets is probably not very much like any real poet; and the same no doubt is true of vulgar notions about scholars.

We have briefly touched on some positive functions of a library in an institution of learning, where teachers gladly learn and gladly teach. A library has also negative functions; not only fights for some things, but fights against some others. A well-weeded library, well-watched, protects the reader against folly and indecency. Doubtless we tend to go far enough in weeding out indecent books. We certainly could go farther towards eliminating foolish and inferior books; inferior books about the poets, for example, and inferior editions of their works. And a library well-rounded is a foe to godlessness and inhumanity. Along with the godlessness and vulgarity of harmful books goes their tendency to take human life, and show it, at its worst, and not at its best as something good and beautiful.

One other function of this negative and protective sort may now be mentioned. It relates to the monstrous thing we call athletics, once imported into our American schools and colleges from England—from Oxford and from Cambridge. But for its source it might have been saddled on our fire-departments or police-departments, where perhaps ideally it belongs. It did not come from the universities of Ireland or of Scotland, whence some of the best elements in American education are derived. It did not come from the great universities and training-schools of Continental Europe, which have served their nations and all other nations well without it. It did not come from Italy and Bologna, nor yet from the Mediaeval schools and monastic institutions that preceded the Italian universities. There was nothing like it in the Hebrew education that has given us the greatest bulwark of good taste and culture called the Bible. Nor did athletics as we know them come from Greece; the difference between what Plato called gymnastic,

which he put almost on a par with music as a civilizing force, the difference between the life of his Academy on the physical side and our intercollegiate sports to-day, is quite abysmal. And the saddest aspect of our system is the childish interest that older people take in these athletic competitions as compared with any general interest they show in the real functions of a college, those functions which are represented by the Library, and typified by the Chapel. It is natural for the young to be fond of victory in physical encounter. 'When I became a man,' says Paul, 'I put away childish things.'

The evil got its foothold in the time of so-called educational leaders who are long since dead. They were afraid to curb the evil in its onset, or they did not have the foresight needed for the guidance of the institutions which they thought they led. It does not take much courage now, nor insight, to speak about the evil, and to tell the truth about it, since the argument most often urged in favor of athletic contests between universities grows annually weaker. Athletic victories no longer advertise a school, since nobody remembers who beat whom, while Southern Methodists and Texas Christians (save the mark!) nevertheless beat older institutions that should be, as indeed a few still are, somewhat stronger in the head and heart than the aforesaid Methodists and Christians. We hope it can be truly said of Rutgers University that she is less infected with the virus than are other institutions of the eldest type. But again, from time to time we hear it said that the best athletic trainers benefit their pupils more than do the teachers on the faculty. If it were so, it would be a dreadful condemnation of our universities and our educational system as a whole.

Of all the evils appertaining to athletics and our educational system, those connected with the game called football are the worst. The commercializing of the game; its lack of amateur ideals; drinking; gambling; the supposed necessity of having a team that will earn six per cent or more for the Italian who advanced the money for the 'stadium' or 'coliseum'; such things we mention as we pass to a few words on the game itself in relation to the players. It spoils the education proper of nearly all the men who play it. For their bodies, it most often injures their joints, especially the knee, and their heads—that part for which a university exists. The knee-joint and the head very

seldom permanently recover, perhaps never fully do so, from a real hurt. The injury often lurks until the man, having passed the acme of his physical strength, is at the acme of his business or professional life; then lays him low. The injury to his knee comes back to lame him; the injury to his head cuts short his business career. There are also heart-strains, kidney-strains, and lung-strains; every player on the team, so the players say themselves, is nursing a hurt. Broken bones and injured muscles heal well enough in a young man, save for the heart. At the age when he has most to live for, and most depending on him, the heart-strain kills him in his tracks. Where is the evidence? Read the daily papers. Why medical men do not openly condemn the game of football wholesale is very strange; parents do in private talk about the bills for treatment. Perhaps the doctors too, like far too many others, look to a university, not for what a university should produce, trained heads as leaders in the State, trained hearts in the clergy, but for a weekly show on the order of a gladiatorial contest or a bullfight.

And what has the Library to do with this, this octopus which seems to have a strangle-hold upon the neck of American education? Athletes pass and die, the Library goes on, so to speak, for ever; there it is, a salutary force, quiet, without advertisement, unceasingly working against the evils that beset our education; yet evils that are, after all, and taken singly, of but a temporary nature and without a lasting cohesion.

But what of the greatest evil of all, not for the university alone, but for the State? What of war, and what have libraries to do in counteracting that? We hear a statement, have heard it so often repeated that it now sounds vulgar; we hear it stated that another war, vaster than the one that went before it, which was the greatest war to date, will shortly put an end to modern culture. Has anybody really thought this matter out? The last war certainly did damage to the library at Louvain, but certainly did not kill religion at Louvain, intensified it, rather, and the outward damage has been repaired. And the last general war was not relatively so disturbing as were the Napoleonic wars, which upset Europe off and on from 1798 till Waterloo well-nigh a generation later. Let us suppose, however, that alien bombers shortly bombed the Harvard Library, or the library of Yale, but did not damage both, or

ruined both of these, but did not damage Brown, or even wrecked the libraries in New York or Washington, but not the aforesaid libraries of Harvard, Yale, and Brown. Or suppose that all the libraries on our Atlantic coast were wrecked, or most of them, while the great universities of the Middle West and California went unscathed? Would civilization in America then be ruined? While we talk about the place of libraries, think how they are placed in our own country. It would take more system than the Continental nations yet possess to ruin all each other's libraries, and after that the libraries at Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, at Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, and other British universities, and then come over here to bomb all other libraries from Maine to Oregon and from Los Angeles to Durham and Chapel Hill. With the newer means of duplication, almost any library to-day can have a copy of any book or writing in the world. A moderate college library to-day is richer in books than most of the great libraries in the day of Waterloo. Think merely of the difference between our Rutgers Library now and the old collection in Kirkpatrick Chapel only forty years ago. The preservation of the library at Urbana, Illinois, if only that were saved out of a universal ruin, would save modern culture, if some spiritual gifts were saved as well. The preservation of our Rutgers Library would do as much under the same conditions. These conditions count. The Library could be reproduced a hundred or a thousand times, if need be, by our modern methods. But photostats and photographs are not the sole condition. Civilization or salvation came from Palestine, and to some extent from Greece; it was spread by Rome, and has been spread by modern nations, France, Italy, and Spain, and Germany too among them, by Great Britain above all. The civilizing, saving thing that came from Palestine was a clear belief in God the Father of all men, set forth and spread by Christianity. Loud speakers of the eighteenth century in France essayed to do away with God and Christianity, and failed; the eighteenth century passed away, but the words of life and light from Palestine will never pass away. *Sol justitiae et occidentem illustra.* Sun of righteousness, still shining from the East, shine also upon our West and this our Alma Mater with its books and students.

# MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THE LIBRARY

THE LIBRARY wishes to complete its sets of the following serial publications and magazines. If someone can supply any or all of them, we hope he will communicate with the Librarian:

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Chaucer Society-Publications. Lond. Series 1, 1868, Nos. 8–13, 16–20, 26–28, 32–36, 38–43, 47–48, 50–56, 59 to date. Series 2, 1869, Nos. 1, 4–5, 10–11, 15, 19–38, 40 to date.

Columbian Lady's and Gentlemen's Magazine. N. Y. v. 7–8, 1847, v. 10, 1849.

Early English Text Society. Lond. Extra Series, Nos. 1–3, 1867; 6–7, 1869; 9–86, 1870–1901; 88, 1902 to date. Original series, Nos. 1, 1864; 3–11, 1864–65; 14–17, 1866; 19–27, 1866–67; 29–31, 1867–68; 33–39, 1868–70; 41–43, 1870–71; 49, 1872; 52–56, 1872–80; 60–61, 1880; 64–65, 67, 69–72, 1880; 74–78, 1880–83; 80–89, 1883–88; 91–166, 1888–1924; 168–196, 1925–35; 198, 1936 to date.

Eclectic Magazine. N. Y. & Bost. v. 5, 1845; v. 130–131 (ns. v. 67–68) 1898; v. 134 (s. 3, v. 3) Nos. 2–4, 1900; v. 135 (s. 3, v. 4) Nos. 1, 6, 1900; v. 138 (s. 3, v. 7) Nos. 2, 4, 1902; v. 141 (s. 3, v. 10) No. 3, 1903.

Eclectic Review. Lond. v. 1–10, 1805–13; ns. v. 1–30, 1814–28; s. 3, v. 1–5, 1829–31; v. 7, 1831–32; v. 9–16, 1833–36; s. 4, v. 1–28, 1837–50; s. 5, v. 1–12, 1851–56; s. 6, v. 1–4, 1857–58; s. 7, v. 1–5, 1859–61; s. 8, v. 1–15, 1861–68.

Friend: a religious and literary journal. Phila. v. 10, 1837; v. 18, 1845 to date.

Godey's Magazine (Some volumes as Lady's Book) Phila. v. 1, 1831; v. 3–17, 1832–39; v. 21–23, 1840–41; v. 31, 1845; v. 36–37, 1848; v. 46–47, 1853; v. 80–84, 1870–72; v. 86, 1873; v. 104–137, 1882–97.

Graham's Magazine (Some as Casket) Phila. 1826, 1832–34, 1838–40, July-Dec. 1843; 1848, 1852, 1858.

Graphic. Lond. v. 43–64, 1890–1901; v. 67–135, 1905–1932.

Merry's Museum and Parley's Magazine (Some volumes as Robert Merry's Magazine) Bost. v. 1–10, 1841–45; v. 15–18, 1848–49; v. 20, No. 4, 1850; v. 40, 1860; v. 43–49, 1862–65; v. 52–61, 1866–72.

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science. Phila. v. 1, 1822; v. 3, 1823; v. 17, No. 101, Nov. 1830; v. 26–27, 1835; v. 31, 1837; v. 35–36, 1839; v. 38–45, 1840–42.

# NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

## *RUTGERS UNIVERSITY STUDIES*

*American Psychology before William James, By Jay W. Fay. Rutgers University Studies in Psychology: Number One.*

NOT LONG after the appearance of William James' famous *Principles*, J. McKeen Cattell, freshly infected by the new scientific psychology of Germany, announced smartly that "the history of psychology in America prior to 1880 could be set forth as briefly as the alleged chapter on snakes in a certain natural history of Iceland—'There are no snakes in Iceland.'" The present volume by Professor Jay Wharton Fay furnishes impressive evidence that it might be possible by diligent search to find snakes even in Iceland; or at any rate, reptiles that so closely resemble snakes that only captious specialists would refuse to call them *Squamata*.

There are two reasons for the neglect of American psychology prior to 1890, one perfectly understandable and justifiable, the other wholly inexcusable. Such historians as Flugel, Troland, Boring, Hulin, or even Murphy, deal with *modern* psychology, that psychology which broke away from philosophy only about seventy years ago, and which tried quite consciously to free itself from psychological concepts based on mere armchair speculation. This psychology was not influenced at all by what went on in American thought between 1735 and 1890—hence the neglect of the period on the part of historians of modern psychology. The other reason for the neglect of this period is less creditable. That writers like Baldwin or Brett, and especially James himself, should have left early American psychology entirely out of account can only be explained on the basis of willful ignorance.

Mr. Fay has rescued this period from undeserved oblivion. His task must have been a labor of love. At all events, the result is a fascinating document, copiously annotated, scholarly to the last detail, and unquestionably destined to gain wide and favorable recognition. The book is unique. Anyone who desires to study American psychological thought prior to 1890 without the labor of tracking down the original documents will find it necessary to read Mr. Fay.

The evidence which Mr. Fay presents in refutation of Cattell's dogmatic pronouncement is commanding, and must be read to be fully believed. There was no psychology in America prior to 1880, said Cattell. Is that so! Read the present volume and find out. Between Brattle's *Logic* in 1735 and Bascom's *Comparative Psychology* in 1878 no less than sixty-seven books were written on various phases of Moral Philosophy. In 1880 McCosh wrote his *Emotions* and in 1890 James at last sent his completed manuscript to the publishers. In the same decade eleven other volumes on psychology also appeared. Not all of these eighty-two books were important, of course; but together they con-

stitute an imposing monument to the intellectual vigor and alertness in this country during a period when the opening of new territories, and the rush and scramble for material success might have swamped any interest in things of the mind.

The significance of Mr. Fay's book is wider than the title would indicate. It belongs among those recent books, such as that of Van Wyck Brooks, which have rediscovered the glorious cultural past of this country; which have brought a sense of pride, but at the same time a feeling of nostalgia, even to Americans, in the half-conscious apprehension that the Golden Age of this country also lies somewhere in times that are gone. Emerson, Franklin, Gibbs, the Adamses, Edwards: such men were laying the foundations of an indigenous culture which gave every promise of climbing to superlative heights. And then something happened. In the decades that followed the Civil War everything became manifestly bigger, but not better. As wealth and power increased, high thinking decreased. Or so it now seems. But is this feeling of frustration an illusion caused by the inevitable lack of perspective which often gives a spurious charm to things of the past? Mr. Fay does not think so, at least with respect to American psychology. In many a wry sentence he points out that the hard-won conclusions of modern experimental psychology duplicate exactly the ideas, although not the words, which American moral philosophers were publishing one hundred years ago. If the difference in these ideas is merely one of words, then surely there must be real snakes in Iceland.

CARROLL C. PRATT

*Two Bookes of Constancie. Written in Latine by Justus Lipsius. Englished by Sir John Stradling.* Edited with an Introduction by Rudolf Kirk. Notes by Clayton Hall. *Rutgers University Studies in English: Number Two.*

RUSKIN DIVIDES all books into two categories—books of the hour and books of all time. The reader of the sixteenth-century philosopher and essayist, Lipsius, does not proceed far before he realizes that *Of Constancie* is a book of all time. Yet today, perhaps more than at any time since the World War, it is a book of the hour.

*Of Constancie* is essentially a dialogue between the author and Charles Langius, "a man for vertue and learning the chief of the Flemings." The setting for the First Book is the porch of Langius' home in Liege on a hot afternoon in June; and for the Second Book, Langius' garden on the following day. Lipsius, opening the conversation, expresses his desire to fly from the evils besetting his "deare countrie," Belgium. Langius, asking him what part of Europe today is free, contends that Lipsius' sorrow arises from the "smoake of opinions," and advises him to turn to "right reason" for comfort. Lipsius should learn to be constant, for "by fighting many man hath gotten the victory, but none by flying." After all, "the whole world is our country." Nations rise and fall according to the law of "necessary alteration," which decrees that all things must begin and end. And although Langius sees Europe declining, he asks, "Am I deceived? or els do I see the sunne of another new Empire arising in

the West," a "marvellous wide new world." Before they go to supper, Langius reassures Lipsius that "the liberty which now is lost may be recovered again hereafter," and that his "decayed country may flourish in another age."

The Second Book opens with a "praise of gardens" that should be in every garden-lover's commonplace book. Replying to Lipsius' eulogy of the delights of gardening, Langius explains that his garden serves him for delight and recreation of mind. "Doest thou think," he asks, "when I am there that I take any care what the Frenchmen or Spaniards are in practising? who possesse the sceptre of Belgica, or who be deprived of it? Whether the tyrant of Asia threaten us by sea or land? Or finally what the king of the cold countrie under the North Pole imagineth?" He then reminds Lipsius that the evils that now beset Belgium are "neither grievous nor new and unaccustomed," for "wars had their beginning with the World, and shall never bee at an end so long as the world lasteth." Ancient wars, indeed, were far more terrible than "the cruelties and butcherly slaughters of this age." Nevertheless, though tyrants "have indevoured to force and constraine mens judgments" even in "matters of religion," they have failed. All nations at one time or another are "Theaters . . . wherein Fortune playeth her bloudy tragedies"—

> Seest thou Italie? It is not yet full thirtie yeares agone since it had rest from cruell and sharpe warres on everie side. Doest thou beholde the large countrey of Germany? There were lately in her greate sparkes of civill dissention, which doe beginne to burne againe; and (unlesse I bee deceived) will growe to a more consuming flame. Brittaine? In it there have bene continuall warres and slaughters . . . What of France? See, and pittie her. Even nowe a festered Gangraene of bloudie warre creepeth thorough everie joynt thereof. So is it in all the worlde besides.

Remembering, then, that "these things are humane, or appertaining to men," Lipsius must cleave to constancy. A study of his philosophy of constancy may help sustain the general reader in a world where crises have become commonplace and lead him, as Lipsius expresses it, to "tranquility and peace."

Dr. Kirk prefaces his introduction with the quaint note of the printer of the first edition to the "courteous reader." In the introduction proper he sketches the life of Justus Lipsius, discusses the "Englishing" of classical writings during the late sixteenth century, outlines Lipsius' argument adapting the Stoic philosophy to Christianity, and concludes with complete bibliographical data concerning the various English translations of *De Constantia*. Dr. Hall's notes, tracing to their sources the many classical allusions in the text, reveal the erudition of Lipsius, which was so remarkable that his contemporaries used the word "Lipsian" to denote great learning. And Lipsius himself assures us that in *De Constantia* he is giving "the very best and greatest" that his "Scholastical stores would at this time afford." Today after a silence of three centuries this learned man is again able to make himself understood through the relevant information brought together by his two editors.

Donald J. McGinn

THE

# AGRICULTURAL MAGAZINE.

A BOUND VOLUME of a rare agricultural periodical—*The New Jersey and Pennsylvania Agricultural Monthly Intelligencer and Farmers' Magazine*—was recently acquired by the Rutgers Library. The volume, which is of octavo size, contains ten issues of this magazine published in 1825 and 1826. The editorial page of each issue is headed with an antique wood-cut, symbolical of farming, and the abbreviated title *The Agricultural Magazine.*

The publisher was Samuel Ellis, schoolmaster of Camden, who in 1824 ventured into the field of journalism by becoming editor and publisher of *The American Star and Rural Record.* Apparently Ellis conceived of the agricultural journal as a sideline to his newspaper. For some reason, however—perhaps lack of suitable "copy"—he did not maintain the regular monthly schedule the title anticipates. When, two years later, he sold the newspaper, the journal expired.

The several issues are not numbered, but at least the last nine represent an unbroken series, for their pages are numbered consecutively 1 to 400. The first issue, dated May 2, 1825, contains 32 pages. The next number in the volume bears the date, October 6, 1825, and also is designated "Vol. 1." There is nothing to indicate whether the October issue was the second in the series, or whether others appeared in the interim.

Judging from available records, this was the first agricultural periodical to be published in New Jersey, and the first designed specifically for circulation in Pennsylvania. It was, moreover, one of the earliest in the United States. It may be regarded, indeed, as a by-product of the agricultural awakening after the War of 1812, which found expression in the agricultural society movement and the beginning of the era of farm periodicals. Only six years before *The Agricultural Magazine* appeared, John S. Skinner, of Baltimore had launched *The American Farmer*, the first American farm periodical of consequence. Within a decade four others followed: *The Ploughboy* (Albany, 1819); *The New England Farmer* (Boston, 1822); *The New York Farmer* (New York, 1828) and *The Southern Agriculturist* (Charleston, 1828). It appears, therefore, that Mr. Ellis' magazine deserves a place among these pioneers of American agricultural journalism; in fact it antedates two of them. We believe, however, that it was not so well known, and did not enjoy so large a circulation as these others.

The purpose of the journal is set forth by the publisher in the first issue. After pointing out the importance of agriculture as "the mother of the fine arts; the parent of commerce; and the primeval occupation of man," he adds:

THE

# NEW JERSEY

AND

# PENNSYLVANIA

# AGRICULTURAL

# MONTHLY INTELLIGENCER,

AND

# FARMER'S

# *MAGAZINE.*

VOL. I.

*PRINTED AND PUBLISHED*

BY

SAMUEL ELLIS,

CAMDEN NEW JERSEY,

1825.

"There are already several useful and well editted [*sic*] public papers dedicated to agriculture, published in the United States, but as they are distant from the states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, their utility to the citizens of these states are [*sic*] necessarily, in some degree impaired, from a disparity of climate, soil and productions; and many of their local advantages lost, in consequence of the remoteness of their situation."

He then announces that his publication will carry "not only the passing agricultural intelligence," but will combine the "practical improvements of the past, with those of the present times, with occasional dissertations on husbandry," divested as much as possible "of idle theory and useless speculation."

A perusal of the pages shows that the editor accomplished this broad objective. Articles reprinted from other periodicals, contributed by correspondents, or written by the editor, cover as varied fields as a cure for colic in horses, the preservation of fruit trees and orchards, beer, and current prices of grain. Of more than passing interest are the addresses delivered before the Salem County Agricultural Society, a premium list of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society, and essays published by the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (America's oldest agricultural society). Correspondence of Judge Richard Peters with Dr. James Mease, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society, is reprinted together with other extracts taken from the society's early published *Memoirs*.

On the fly leaf is the autograph of Dr. William Elmer, popular and prominent physician of Bridgeton, apparently the owner of the volume. He was also the author of an article on the curing of hay and corn fodder, reprinted from *The Bridgeton Whig*. In the issue for November, 1825, the list of premiums awarded at the Third Annual Exhibition of the Cumberland County Agricultural Society reveals that Dr. Elmer's cattle came off with high honors. He won three prizes of $3.00 each which he generously relinquished to the Society: for the best bull and the best calf, both "Improved Durham Shorthorns," and also for the best heifer, "of Holstein and Shorthorn Blood."

Of special interest to the friends of Rutgers is an article "On the Manufacture of Butter and Cheese," by Simeon DeWitt, of Albany, famous graduate of Queen's College in the Class of 1776. In the article, DeWitt described the method he used on his own farm to establish pastures; he told of seeing, on a farm near Ithaca, a churn operated by a dog on a revolving platform; and he commented on the excellence of the butter which he had tasted at the table of Governor Morris, produced in the dairies at the family estate, Morrisania.

The Rutgers copy of *The Agricultural Magazine* is the only one known to the author. Inquiries of the Library of Congress Union Catalogue, the Union Catalogue of Philadelphia libraries, the Library of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the American Antiquarian Society, disclosed no other copy extant. To the student of agricultural journalism and of agricultural history and especially to those interested in the agricultural history of New Jersey, this magazine is a choice item. C. R. W.

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## *RALPH VOORHEES IN 1860*

AT THE DINNER given by the Associated Friends last May, Dr. Oscar M. Voorhees, the nephew of Ralph Voorhees, the donor of the Rutgers Library building, presented to the Library the pocket diary kept by Ralph Voorhees during the year 1860. From this little notebook we catch a glimpse of the life of this busy New Jersey farm youth in the years before his blindness.

The year begins Sunday, January 1st, 1860. Ralph attended church at Bedminster and carefully noted down the minister's text, John III, 3. Then on Monday he set to work and put in a hard day. "Cleaned and measured 80 bush. Oats" and "Drew and sawed 3 loads of stove wood." He also "Presented Mrs. Brush [the minister's wife] with half a cord hickory wood." The next two days he spent at Morristown attending a musical convention. After this he put in five work-days which may well remind us of what farm work was like in the days before modern machinery, for he notes that he was "Threshing rye with flail." But he seems not to have used the flail entirely; on the fourth day he used the flail only until noon, "in the afternoon threshing with machine." After completing his threshing, he paused to spend a social afternoon; then the next two days were spent in "Breaking Colts to halter," and cleaning his thirty-four bushels of rye. As the winter continued, he is found killing "one hog one beef nine turkeys fifty-one fowls," weighing a "streaked backed steer," going "to Newark with a load of produce," "threshing Oats," "Sawing and splitting kiln wood," "Dressing posts," staying "with Mr. Ludlow who died 20 minutes to four O'clock P. M." By St. Patrick's Day we find him at work "Sowing clover seed till noon," and in the afternoon going "to the school house frolic."

As the seasons changed, Ralph sowed clover seed, burned brush, and planted corn. On May 22 he went to Raritan "with 445 ft maple for Dunham & Staats bringing back 768 ft floor boards for Mine Brook School house," and on the 24th, after plowing in the afternoon, he again assisted with work on the school house by hawling a load of lime. Later on he is plowing corn and repairing fences, and by the end of June, he is "raking & cocking hay." The old method of harvesting wheat with a cradle was still in use at the same time that the new machines were coming in. We find Ralph noting on July 9, "Cutting wheat with cradle till noon in the afternoon cutting for John [his brother] with machine." In the autumn Ralph is found picking apples and cutting corn. He also hauls and spreads lime, husks corn, threshes clover, and helps with a barn raising. On October 17 he went to New Brunswick to visit several friends who were studying at Rutgers, and on November 6 he took the afternoon off to go "to election."

After November 19 his work-a-day diary stops short. For the year 1860, we know nothing more of his activities, except his attendance at church, which he always noted down, together with the text on which Mr. Brush preached. The picture we get from these matter-of-fact notes is of an active young farmer, devoted in his attendance at church, conscientious about his work, fond of sociability, occupied with the affairs of his community. R. K.

# THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY OF RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

THIS Association was founded on May 21, 1937, to maintain an organization of persons interested in books, to assist in bringing to the Library of Rutgers University funds for special needs beyond the command of the Library budget, to encourage gifts of books and manuscripts, and to cooperate with the Librarian and the Library Advisory Board in the development of the resources of the Library under the direction of the Library Committee of the Board of Trustees of Rutgers University.

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